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EDWARD L. SEARS, LL.D.

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Pulchrum est bene facere reipublice, etiam bene dicere iaud absurdum est.

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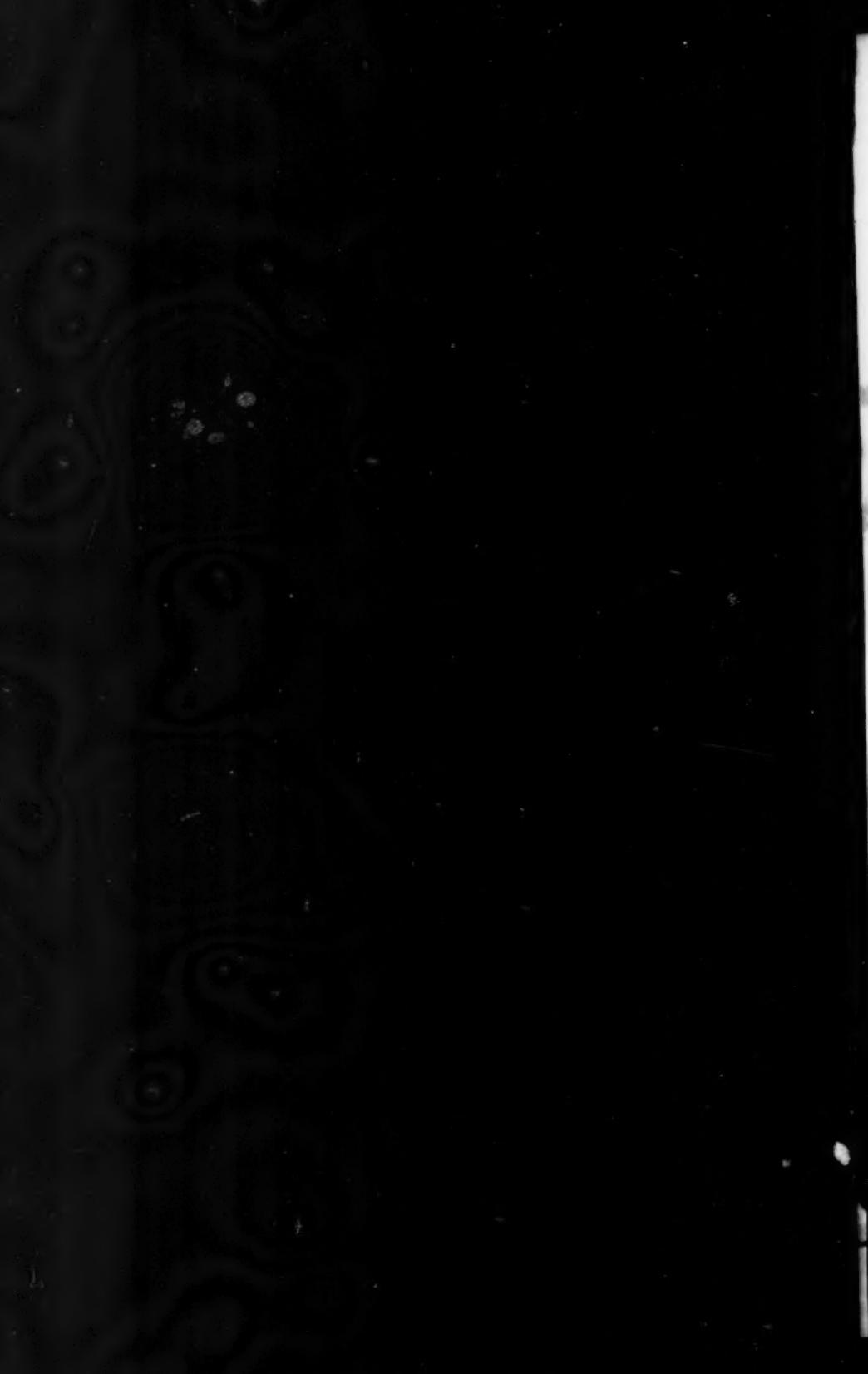
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No deduction will be made for removal within the half year, unless for dismissal or protracted illness.

The scholastic year commences on the first Monday of September, and terminates on the last Wednesday of June.

**ROBERT E. V. RICE, C.M.,
President.**

RUTGERS FEMALE COLLEGE,

487, 489, and 491 Fifth Avenue,

NEW-YORK CITY.

THIS INSTITUTION, which has enjoyed a high and wide reputation ever since its foundation in 1838, has now received from the Legislature of the State of New-York a regular College Charter. The aim and purpose of the President and Trustees will now be to raise the standard of Ladies' education, and to afford the best facilities for acquiring a thorough and complete training, not only in those studies and accomplishments which are generally comprised in female education, but also in the Classics and Physical Sciences; in short, to bring the course of study as nearly as possible to the level of that of our young men's colleges.

With this view, provision has been made for the pursuit of the Greek, Latin, German, and French Languages. The classical course is made optional after the close of the Sophomore year, so that pupils desirous of pursuing more fully other branches, either in modern languages or natural science, may have the opportunity of doing so.

The fine arts form a separate and independent department of study, under the personal charge of Mr. F. B. CARPENTER and the supervision of Mr. HUNTINGTON, President of the National Academy of Design. Drawing in outline forms part of the regular course, but painting in oil or water-colors is not included, and is to be prosecuted by special studies.

Physiology, and several allied branches, are to be formed into the Department of Home Philosophy, the aim of which shall be to teach, on the widest scale possible in such institution, the applications of science to the conduct of everyday life.

In conformity with the plan in the OLD RUTGERS INSTITUTE, the COLLEGE will still maintain an Academic and a Preparatory School, at which children and young girls may study under the same system and influences as those of the COLLEGE itself.

The Terms in the Preparatory Department are \$100 per year; in the Academic, \$150, and in the College, \$200, with the exception of the Senior year, when the expenses of graduation are added to the annual rate, so as to make it \$250.

For further information, application may be made in person or by letter to

HENRY M. PIERCE, LL.D.,

President.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE,

NEW-YORK CITY.

FREDERICK A. P. BARNARD, S.T.D., LL.D., President.

The regular scholastic exercises of this institution for the academic year 1869-70, being the one hundred and sixteenth since its foundation, will commence in the several departments, as follows:

I. School of the Liberal Arts, Oct. 4th, 1869.

Applications for admission may be made on Friday, Oct. 1st, or on Friday, June 25th, being the Friday preceding commencement, at the college, East Forty-ninth street, between Madison and Fourth Avenues. Tuition, one hundred dollars per annum, payable in advance. There are no other annual dues.

II. School of Mines, Oct. 4th, 1869.

Examination for admission takes place on Thursday, September 30th. Candidates must be at least eighteen years of age, and must pass a satisfactory examination in algebra, geometry, and plane, analytical, and spherical trigonometry. There is a preparatory year for those not qualified for the regular courses.

Fee for the whole course, \$200 per annum, payable semi-annually in advance; which is in full for tuition, use of laboratories, apparatus, chemicals, drawing-room, and students' collection of minerals. Special students in chemistry and assaying are charged the same fee. Special students in assaying are admitted for two months, for a fee of \$50. For single courses of lectures, \$10 to \$30. For further information in regard to this school, application may be made to Dr. CHARLES F. CHANDLER, Dean of the Faculty, at the school, Fifth街, corner of Fourth Avenue.

III. School of Law, Oct. 6th, 1869.

Students desiring to enter this school will present themselves on that day at the school, 37 Lafayette Place. Examinations for the degree of LL.B. take place Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, May 5th, 6th, and 7th. By statutes of the legislature, graduates of the Law School are admitted to practice in all the courts of the state.

Terms, \$100 per annum, payable in advance. For further information, apply to THEODORE W. DWIGHT, LL.D., Warden of the school, at the Law School, 37 Lafayette Place.

IV. School of Medicine, Oct. 4th, 1869.

Medical College Building, corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth Avenue. The course of instruction consists of lectures, to the number of five or six daily, in the various departments of medicine and surgery, both elementary and practical, together with daily clinical lectures delivered both at the college and at the larger hospitals.

FEES: Matriculation, \$5; full courses by all the professors, \$140; for each separate ticket, \$20; to the demonstrator of anatomy, \$10; graduation fee, \$30.

For further information address the "Secretary of the Faculty of the Columbia College School of Medicine," at the college in Twenty-third Street.

In all the departments, deserving students who find themselves unable to pay the fees, may be admitted to attend gratuitously, by presenting the facts of their several cases to the president, for the School of Arts and the School of Mines; to Professor Dwight, for the School of Law; and to the professors severally for the School of Medicine.

For information in regard to the college generally, the president should be addressed, at the college, East Forty-ninth street, between Fourth and Madison Avenues.

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ART. I.—1. *Diogenes Laertii de Clarorum Philosophorum, Vitis, Dogmatibus, etc.* Libri Decem. (Lives and Doctrines of the Ancient Philosophers, etc. Ten Books.) By DIogenes LAERTES.

2. *The Dialogues of Lucian.*

3. *Lives of Alexander, Fabius Maximus, etc.* PLUTARCH.

4. *La Vita di Diogene Cynico.* (The Life of Diogenes the Cynic.) GRIMALDI.

IT is a remarkable fact that none of the higher order of thinkers have set any value on fame. Most of them have sought to avoid it, or, at least, proved themselves entirely indifferent to it. Thus it is that the very existence of Homer will ever be a matter of dispute among the most learned men; while the superiority of the Iliad and the Odyssey to all other epics is universally acknowledged by nations the most dissimilar in their tastes—indeed by every nation that can be regarded as capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject. The author was content to charm all who heard him; he was too sublime a genius to be influenced by vanity. Yet what has he lost by this? If many have denied his existence, have not many also denied the existence of the Creator of the universe?

As little is known of Aesop, the great fabulist, as of Homer. The instructive wisdom and beauty of the fables with which

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his name is associated, are acknowledged by all ; but because little or nothing is known of the author, some are pleased to maintain that he was but a myth. It is sufficiently evident that Socrates cared nothing for fame ; and that his pupil, the divine Plato, was equally indifferent to it, is shown by the fact that he represents himself in his noblest and most eloquent works, only as the reporter of his master's thoughts.

Pythagoras was not merely careless of fame—he always avoided it, and inculcated as a duty on his disciples, that they also would spurn it. Virgil was quite as careless of fame as his master Homer. This is fully proved by the request he made shortly before his death, that his greatest work should be burned. It was different with Horace and Ovid ; both, although of a high order, were intellects of an inferior stamp, compared with the author of the *Aeneid*, and accordingly neither was indifferent to fame.*

Nor have the great minds of modern times been less unmindful of what the world might say. There are many ordinary authors who wrote long before the time of Shakespeare of whom we have full biographies ; they have themselves left us abundant particulars of their lives ; but scarcely any thing certain is known of the great dramatist. Of those who flourished nearer our own time, suffice it to mention Swift and the author of the Junius Letters. That both were men

* While Virgil gives all the glory to his patron in his fine peroration at the close of his *Georgics*, the two minor poets boast of having built themselves everlasting monuments. No authors present more striking contrasts in this respect. Thus Virgil concludes his admirable pastoral, perhaps the best ever written, with all the modesty of a bashful maiden, reminding his reader that while he sang Tityrus in inglorious ease beneath the beechen shade, victorious Caesar was extending his laws over willing realms :

" Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otī ;
Carmina qui lusi pastorum : audaxque juventā
Tityre, te patula cecini sub tegmine fagi."

Horace, on the contrary, boasts in the following grandiloquent strain :

" Exegi monumentum aere perennius,
Regalique sitū pyramidum allius, etc.

Still more pompous is the glorification of Ovid over his own fame. Just in proportion as he is inferior in genius to Horace does he laud himself more :

" Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas."

of a high order of genius none will deny ; and it is equally indisputable that both despised fame.

At first sight, this indifference or contempt, on the part of great minds, may seem unaccountable. But none who reflect on what generally constitutes fame will wonder at it, since in nine cases out of ten nothing is more spurious, nothing less reliable. If it was not quite as much the work of the charlatan in the times of Homer, Virgil, and Shakespeare, as it is now, it is certain that there were puffers and sycophants at each of those periods, who did not take much pains to examine whether the subjects of their eulogies possessed merit or not ; and it is equally certain that many regarded it as a crime, at those times, to speak the truth, especially if the truth placed themselves in a position in which they did not wish to appear.

It is probable that there were not so many of the latter class in former times as there are now, since there were at least ten public instructors who gave their opinions freely and honestly, for every one who does so in our own time. But the old philosophers who performed their duties thus faithfully, fearless of frowns, blows, or even death itself, had, generally, to pay the penalty of their hardihood in one form or other. As for sustaining pecuniary loss to an extent that often deprived them even of the necessaries of life, that was one of the least of the evils which they expected to result to themselves from their highly useful and reformatory though self-imposed duties. We have sufficient evidence that many of them regarded it as a much greater injury to be traduced. It gave Socrates more pain to be accused of conduct of which he was incapable of being guilty, than to be condemned to the hemlock draught. But neither prevented him from denouncing the vicious and dishonest. Accordingly, he might have come down to posterity, not as one of the greatest philosophers that ever lived, but as one of the vilest of mankind, had it not so happened that there were men of genius among his disciples who were capable of vindicating his character, and whose eloquent voice is still heard. Plato and Xenophon not only saved his memory from infamy, but rendered him an object of admiration and affection to all succeeding ages. However, he was but one out of a hundred ; it is certainly no exaggeration to say

that for this justice done to the memory of Socrates, ninety-nine other philosophers who were benefactors of mankind were branded as the basest of mankind; whereas a much larger number of persons who had no other claim than their impudence to be considered philosophers at all, were lauded to the skies as superior to all others.

It is true that it is only in rare instances that even the names of this class have come down to us; whereas, the truly great have seldom failed to triumph over time, as well as over the malice of those whose vicious conduct, or false dishonest pretensions they denounced. But even when thus successful they have by no means escaped unseathed—like brave warriors who, although they have been victorious in battle, have received painful wounds in the conflict. This may serve to explain why it is that the greatest thinkers of all ages have, as we have shown, despised fame, and we think it may also be regarded as satisfactory evidence that they were right in doing so.

But of all philosophers no one has been more grossly misrepresented by his contemporaries than Diogenes the Cynic, whose life and character we have chosen as the subject of the present article. We would not by any means introduce the Sinopean to our readers as a model worthy of imitation in all things, however. Even as portrayed by his friends and admirers, there are features in his character which are not to be commended. Perhaps no other philosopher of all antiquity more strikingly illustrates the inferiority of the Pagan to the Christian in his morality as well as in his religion, than Diogenes. But it would be unjust to judge him as a Christian. Even in comparing him with other pagan philosophers we must not be too exacting; if we find that others were better than he in some respects, we must not therefore condemn him.

There are several of the ancient philosophers whose character and teachings we admire ourselves much more than we do those of Diogenes the Cynic, but since he also did much good in his time, and deserved to be ranked among the benefactors of mankind, his having some faults is no reason why we should not learn what we can from his history, and those of his

moral precepts and apothegms alone which have reached us would amply repay us for the study. But Diogenes presents us a still stronger inducement. There have been few men of any age from whom more valuable lessons can be learned, altogether independently of his wit and wisdom, reminding us, as he does, by what he has accomplished, often under the most unfavorable circumstances, that no calamity is so great, no disgrace so notorious or overwhelming, but that it can be counteracted or repaired by a resolute, honest will.

Diogenes the Cynic was born at Sinope, a small town in Asia Minor, in the fourth year of the ninetieth Olympiad—413 before Christ. Of his early life nothing is known; he is first heard of in connection with his father, Isecius, who being accused of counterfeiting the public money, while pursuing the business of a small banker at Corinth, was banished from the state. Some think that Diogenes was as guilty as his father, nor does he seem to deny the fact himself; at all events, the son fled as quickly as the father. He first appears to have wandered about without any fixed object, but with the determination of pursuing forever after an upright, honest course. That he had obtained a good education in his youth, is evident even from his conduct at this time. He knew there were other cities more wealthy than Athens, but he also knew that the latter had more knowledge than any of its rivals, and the lesson which he had learned at Corinth caused him to prefer knowledge to money.

On reaching Athens he was attracted by the fame of Antisthenes, who had for many years been a disciple of Socrates, and had recently established a school of his own which had already become famous, although so rigid was the discipline of the master that it had but few pupils. Diogenes was informed on inquiry, that the reason why Antisthenes had so few disciples was that he treated them as surgeons did their patients. Far from being deterred by this, it caused the Sinopean to apply to him all the more eagerly. Antisthenes refused to accept him on any conditions; Diogenes persisted in trying to induce him; some say that he urged his case so strongly that the master threatened to strike him. "You may strike if you

will," said Diogenes, "you will find no stick hard enough to prevent me from coming to hear your lessons."^{*}

Even the founder of the Cynic sect could not help being moved by this reply, and he at once accepted Diogenes as a disciple. Nor had he any other disciple who loved or esteemed him more, or took more zealous pains to propagate his doctrines. Such was the reverence of Diogenes for his master that he refused to open any school of his own as long as that of Antisthenes existed; but long after he had become much more illustrious than his teacher he continued to call himself a disciple of the latter; nor did he cease to do so while the latter lived.

All the earlier biographers of Diogenes represent him as having lived in a tub, or large vessel, and he frequently speaks of the tub himself as his house or place of residence. Both Juvenal and Seneca refer to it in a manner that leaves no doubt of their having accepted the story as true; and Lucian ridicules the sage for having gone to such extremes in his self-denial and avoidance of luxuries. Others think, however, that the story is inconsistent with the references made by Diogenes himself to his house and to his servant. That he once had both is abundantly proved; but it is doubtful whether he had one or the other after his banishment. But whatever time he parted with his slave, it would appear that it was against his will he did so; for some of his friends having advised him to pursue the fugitive, his reply was, "Would it not be ridiculous that Menades could live without Diogenes, but that Diogenes could not live without Menades?"

Elian explains the apparent inconsistency by showing that Diogenes had not yet become a philosopher at the time of the escape of his slave; and this view of the case is accepted by Seneca and all other authors save those who have given credence, without examination, to the calumnies of the philosopher's enemies.[†]

It is generally believed that Diogenes wandered about many years after parting with his servant before he made any place

* Diog. Laert. in *Vita*.

† Vide Elian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. xviii.

his permanent home. The philosopher relates himself, in one of his letters, according to Laertes, how it was he came to live in a tub. He says that he ordered a friend to have a cell made for him ; the friend forgot or neglected his wishes ; he, growing impatient, took up his abode in a large tub which he found in one of the porticoes of the Temple of Juno. Laertes informs us that a mischievous youth broke the tub ; and that the Athenians proved their affection and veneration for Diogenes by condemning the culprit to be publicly whipped, and furnishing a new tub to the philosopher.*

The enlightened citizens of Athens did not esteem the philosopher anything the less because he had often satirized them. He ridiculed their weaknesses much more cuttingly than Socrates had done. Thus, for example, when they decreed divine honors to Alexander under the name of Bacchus, he sarcastically said, "Decree also that I am Serapis."

Nor was it the Athenians alone that treated Diogenes and his tub with consideration, if we are to believe the most reliable historians. At Corinth, as well as at Athens, he was allowed peculiar privileges in consideration of his noble and highly successful efforts as a public instructor. We are informed that he happened to be in the former city when Philip, King of Macedon, threatened to attack it. Observing all the citizens laboriously and anxiously occupied in fortifying the place, and not wishing to be entirely idle while all others were at work, he amused himself by rolling his tub.

It seems that, notwithstanding the cheerful, happy disposition for which he was remarkable among his friends, he was subject to fits of despondency in the earlier part of his career as a philosopher. When in this frame of mind, he would say, according to Laertes, that all the imprecations of the tragic poets were applicable to him, since he belonged to no city, had no house, was banished from his country, was poor, a wanderer, barely subsisting from day to day.†

He had now become so much in the habit of teaching in public, in the market-place, at cross-roads, in the porticoes of the

* Diog. Laert. *Vide also Lucianus de Conscript. Historia.*

† Ἀπολιγ, δάουν, πιτρίδα ἐστερημένος.
πτωχος, πλανήτης, βίον ἔχων τούτῳ ημέραν.

temples, in short, wherever he found two or three persons, or more, who were willing to hear him, that he determined to open no school in any particular place. Perhaps no serious objection could have been made to this; but we are informed that he insisted on being equally public in almost every thing else he did, maintaining that whatever was right in private was right in public, that nature made no distinction, and that, in order to be at once virtuous and free, we must obey her voice in all things.

Some, indeed, think that this should be ranked among the many other calumnies of his enemies, although it is admitted by Diogenes Laertes, the most friendly of all his earlier biographers whose works have reached us. But some of the gross indecencies attributed to the philosopher on this ground are entirely inconsistent with many facts which are abundantly authenticated. Thus, for example, it is not likely that Alexander the Great, the accomplished and fastidious pupil of Aristotle, would have had such esteem for one who violated the most ordinary rules of decency as to seek out the philosopher in his miserable abode, and ask him to choose whatever it was in his power to bestow on him. The most faithful and reliable of biographers bears testimony to this incident, and his statement is corroborated by that of Diogenes Laertes and of several other authors of eminence. "A general assembly of Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth," says Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, "they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun; and, at the approach of so many people, he raised himself a little, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. The king addressed him in a complimentary manner, and asked him if there was anything he could serve him in. 'Only stand a little out of my sun,' said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck

with so much surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in this, that while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, ‘If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes.’”*

It is almost needless to remark that when this happened Alexander was well acquainted with the character of Diogenes. Then, if the philosopher had really been habitually guilty of disgraceful conduct, is it likely that the pupil of the Stagyrite would have wished to be Diogenes? There is not the slightest probability that he would. Nevertheless, he has been severely censured for having made such a remark, although only by those who have accepted the representations of the philosopher’s enemies. Among this class are men like Balzac—men who ought to devote themselves to the vindication of the illustrious dead, rather than to the reproduction of the worst slanders of their enemies. The Abbé de Tastu preaches an eloquent sermon on the wish of Alexander in regard to Diogenes, and maintains that it did honor both to the king and the philosopher. This excites the indignation of Balzac, who condemns in turn the preacher, the king, and the philosopher. “The preacher,” he says, “regards this as extremely good; I regard it as extremely bad. For, in truth, what is it to be Diogenes? I will tell you by merely translating the Greek text, without making any addition of my own. To be Diogenes is to violate established customs and received laws; it is to have neither shame nor decency; it is to recognize neither relative, nor host, nor friend; it is to bark or bite constantly; it is to eat in the open market raw bread or bloody meat; it is to offend the eyes of the people by actions still more filthy or more indecent, actions for which there cannot be sufficient secrecy or a sufficiently profound solitude.”†

This indeed is, as Balzac tells us, in strict accordance with the Greek text; it is in accordance with more than one Greek text; but it is far too literal a rendering of the worst. Diogenes Laertes is undoubtedly an honest biographer; but there are certain things considered so disgraceful at the present day that they cannot be mentioned, which the Greek biographer

* Plutarch’s Life of Alexander.

† Balzac, *Socrat. Chrétien*, p. 243.

regards as rather creditable than otherwise. There is so much of this objectionable matter in his lives of the philosophers that when the good and learned monk, Brother Ambroise, presented Europe the first Latin translation of them, he humbly excused himself for having devoted his leisure hours to the interpretation of a work which contains so many unchaste as well as profane expressions, begging to be forgiven on the ground that, although the work is thus unhappily marred by some objectionable matter, it is upon the whole highly instructive, and such as may be read with profit even by the most pious Christians. It would be very illogical to accept certain remarks occurring in a work of this character as sufficient evidence against those to whom they were applied.

Such was the reputation of Balzac as an author that his example was followed by several other writers. At this time works written in French were more read than all others; and the consequence was that the memory of Diogenes was rendered infamous. But if some Frenchmen celebrated for their brilliancy were rather hasty in arriving at conclusions, especially in comparing the moderns with the ancients, there were others who were as thoughtful and fond of justice as they were brilliant and learned. Of this character was the celebrated La Mothe le Vayer, who, in his *Traité de la Vertu des Païens*, fully vindicated Diogenes. A treatise on the virtue of the pagan philosophers was too profound a work to be much read at this time, although its author had the prestige of being the successful teacher, first of the Duke of Orleans, and subsequently of Louis XIV., whose education he finished. On receiving a hint from his bookseller that his laudable efforts in vindication of the ancients were likely to prove a failure, he told him to be of good cheer, that all would prove right in due time. "Ne soizes point en peine; je sais un secret pour le faire vendre." He proceeds at once to the public censor, and causes a decree to be issued prohibiting all good and pious subjects of the king from reading it, under certain pains and penalties. In three days after, the whole edition had been exhausted. The great Cardinal Richelieu was among the first to thank him for the justice he had rendered to the ancient philosophers in this work. La Mothe was not content with proving

to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced, enlightened man, that the much abused and despised ancients were capable of instructing their modern traducers ; he availed himself of the success of his first effort to convince all who had power to raise the standard of education, that not only should the Greek philosophers be studied by all who aspired to a liberal education, but that the Greek language should be carefully taught in every respectable seminary.

Had nothing more than this ever resulted from the life and teachings of Diogenes, he would have done the world a great service ; but not only was the study of Greek introduced into seminaries where it never had been taught before, but Louis XIV. was induced to give a large contribution for the publication of a complete annotated edition of the Greek classics, accompanied with Latin translations. The example of the learned men of France was soon followed by those of England and Germany, and princes and kings who had never paid any attention to letters before began to encourage learned men, so that, in the course of fifty years, the Greek, which had hitherto been regarded as "a most dangerous study for a Christian," became nearly as popular as the Latin.

It is almost needless to remark that, in proportion as the Greek classics were studied in the original, the character of Diogenes, as well as that of most other ancient philosophers, continued to improve, that is, truth and justice became more and more apparent. Those who exercised their reflection came to the conclusion that he could not have been a very indecent or vulgar man who was recognized as a philosopher by Socrates himself, as well as by his almost equally illustrious pupils, Plato and Xenophon ; for it cannot be denied that Diogenes had the honor of conversing almost daily with each—if, indeed, he considered it an honor, which is not at all likely ; since he is occasionally sarcastic in his remarks to all, so much so that, as we shall show presently, Plato is sometimes afraid of his questions.*

According as the character of Diogenes improves, the remark of Alexander becomes more intelligible, more worthy of

* Diog. Laert. in *Vita*.

the pupil of Aristotle; what appears absurd, if not altogether incredible, at first sight, becomes philosophical on intelligent examination; it is admitted that, after all, the wish of the great conqueror evinced neither bad taste nor puerility, but grandeur of soul and magnanimity. In short, it is found that Plutarch was right; but that, in order to be fully understood on this point, he must be read in connection with Diogenes Laertes. It is now generally conceded that when thus interpreted what he meant was this: Alexander did not come to see the philosopher for mere curiosity; still less did he come to mock or to pass any censure on his faults or foibles, whatever either may have been. He had heard of him as a profound thinker, and he desired to judge for himself what his merits really were. In order to gain his good-will and render him communicative, his first word is an offer of service. Diogenes, on his part, meant no incivility when he asked the great conqueror to go from between him and the sun; his reply was as much as to say, "Deprive me not of the gifts of nature, and I will not envy you those of fortune, which, great as they are in your case, I regard as beneath me." The courtiers of Alexander, who had not been so carefully educated as their master, sneered at what they did not understand, precisely as persons of similar character do at the present day. What struck the conqueror was the extreme disdain of the philosopher for all worldly pomp and grandeur. In turning round, therefore, to his courtiers to rebuke them for mocking at the philosopher, what he meant was, that if he did not possess all the riches and honor that he did, he would be glad to be able to despise all, and live content with his humble lot, like the philosopher.

A similar view is taken of the interview between the king and the philosopher by the greatest and most thoughtful of the Roman satirists. "Alexander felt," says Juvenal, "when he saw in that tub its great inhabitant, how much more really happy was he who coveted nothing, than he who aimed at gaining to himself the whole world, doomed to suffer perils equivalent to the exploits he achieved."^{*} Still more emphatic

* "Sensit Alexander, testa quam vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic qui
Nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem."
Sat. xiv. v. 312.

is the praise of Seneca, who expresses his admiration of the Sinoepean in fifty different parts of his writings. In speaking of the incident just referred to, he says that, however great were the conquests of Alexander, the renowned warrior himself was conquered by Diogenes.*

But this is not the only interview recorded as having taken place between Alexander and Diogenes. We are told that on another occasion the conqueror presented himself to the philosopher, asking, "Are you not afraid of me?" "Tell me what you are, good or bad?" replied Diogenes. "Good," replied Alexander. "And who," continued Diogenes, "is afraid of what is good?"

This could not have been the reply of the kind of person described by Balzac; it was that of a thinker whose mind had evidently been well trained. Had we any doubt on this point, the definition of education given by the philosopher and recorded by his biographer immediately after the reply to Alexander just quoted might have been sufficient to remove it, for it is the Sinoepean who defines it as "the prudence of the young, the consolation of the old, the riches of the poor, and the ornament of the rich."†

But there is yet another interview recorded which proves still more conclusively, if possible, that Diogenes was no mere illiterate stroller who attracted attention only by his insolence and indecent conduct. We are informed‡ that Alexander, having found Diogenes sleeping, quoted for him the twenty-fourth verse of the second book of the Iliad, in which the warrior is upbraided for sleeping throughout the night.§ Wishing to reply in a similar manner, Diogenes quoted the line immediately following, which shows that it is those who are intrusted with the government of the people who should not sleep in the manner indicated.||

This abundantly proves how familiar the philosopher was

* "Eadem re gloriari Socrates potuit, eadem Diogenes a quo victus est, (Alexander.) Quid ni victus sit illo die quo homo supra mensuram humanae superbis tumens, vidi aliquem cui nec dare quidquam posset nec eripere."—*Seneca de Benefic.* lib. v. c. vi.

† *Diog. Laert. in Vita.*

‡ *Theo. in Progymn.*

§ "οὐ κρηπαννύχιον εὖδειν βουληφόρον ἀνδρα,"

|| "φά λαοί τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε."

with Homer. If the fact be denied, there is no lack of additional proof; it is to be found throughout his life by Laertes. Sometimes in his quietest repartees, at other times in his comparisons, or in his moral precepts, Diogenes either quoted directly from the poets and philosophers, or parodied some of their most striking passages, according as one or the other happened to suit the present ease. Thus we are told by Laertes, that seeing a young man who slept too profoundly, he shook him and said, "Waken up, lest while you sleep you may be struck with a lance from behind," which is a parody on v. 95 of the eighth book of the Iliad. On another occasion, seeing a man violating a grave-yard, he parodies another verse of Homer, exclaiming, "Friend, what are you doing there? Have you come to despoil the dead?"

With the works of Euripides, Sophocles, and *Æschylus* he was equally familiar. If he did not make as much use of the tragic poets as he did of Homer, it was because all three did not possess the sententious wisdom and wonderful versatility of thought which characterized the Prince of poets. Laertes tells us that, while dining one day on olives, a friend brought him a cake, when he suddenly cited v. 40 of Euripides' tragedy of Phoenissæ:

"Hosts! yield the place to tyrants," etc.

With similar ease and freedom he parodied both Plato and his master; nor did he scruple to mock both. Plato having defined man as a two-legged animal without feathers, Diogenes plucked a large cock and threw it into the celebrated school of that philosopher; but the pupil of Socrates, instead of taking mortal offence, as an inferior teacher would have done, took the act in good part, admitted that his definition was imperfect, and improved it accordingly. Observing one day that, although Plato had a sumptuous dinner before him, he ate nothing but olives, "What!" said he, "great sage, you have travelled into Sicily to find a table served in this splendid manner, and now, when it is before you at home, you refuse to enjoy it?" "I call the gods to witness, Diogenes," replied Plato, "that when I was in Sicily I contented myself most frequently with olives, and other dishes of that kind." "In that case, then," added Diogenes, "what business had you to go to Syracuse? was it

because Attica produces no olives?" While eating olives on another occasion he met Plato and said, " You can partake with me." Plato took some and ate them. " I told you to partake," said Diogenes, " but not to eat." When Plato returned from the court of Dionysius, he invited a few of his friends to dine. Diogenes went with the rest, but his first care on entering was to trample under his feet some of the richly embroidered table-cloths of his host, saying, " Thus I trample on the vanity of Plato." " And I," said Plato, " see much pride under your contempt of vanity."*

We have remarked above that Plato was rather timid of the Sinopean, and there are some cogent reasons to believe that such was the fact. But whether he was or not, it is certain that Diogenes did not fail to give him cause enough. We will give one anecdote more in illustration of this. According to Laertes, Sotion reports in his fourth book that Diogenes having asked some wine and figs, he sent him a whole amphora of wine. " Just like you," replied the Cynic, " if one asks you how much are four and four, you will reply, twenty; you neither know how to give what one asks of you, nor how to answer the questions that are proposed to you." His biographer does not omit to mention that this is in allusion to the interminable discourses of Plato. Yet we hear of no breach between the philosophers.

At this time there were at least a dozen philosophical sects at Athens, all of which differed with each other as much as most of our Christian sects do at the present day; but they seldom, if ever, quarrelled, like the latter. The pupils of the same master sometimes differed, and criticised each other. This is true, for example, of Plato and Aristotle, but nevertheless both esteemed each other to the last. Indeed, it seems that all philosophers, worthy of the name, no matter what sects they belonged to, esteemed Diogenes. It was only the pretenders to philosophy, and the malefactors of all classes, whose vices he exposed, that calumniated him.

But we shall be the better able to estimate the character of Diogenes, if we remember that he was once sold as a slave.

* Diog. Laert.

Even while in bondage he was as independent in mind as when he enjoyed all the rights of an Athenian freeman; his master might oppress and persecute him, but he could not intimidate him, or prevent him from giving free expression to his opinions. Laertes tells us that, finally, when he was exhibited for sale and asked what he could do, he replied, "Govern men." Addressing himself to the auctioneer, he said, "Ask if any one wants to buy a master." Xeniades, a wealthy merchant of Corinth, happening to pass by at the time, was struck with the singularity of the question, and asked him what he would do for him if he purchased him. Diogenes mentioned many things, which few would fancy: such as, that he could make him sleep on the ground without a bed, throw his money, if he had any, into the river, live in some cave, or, like the philosopher himself, in a tub, etc. The merchant, being a thoughtful, intelligent man, far from being discouraged by his strange propositions, valued him all the more on their account, and cheerfully paid for him the sum demanded. He told Xeniades that, although he was his master, he would do well to obey him, as one would a physician or a pilot, without taking any account of his being a slave. His master soon saw that he was right, that it was worth his while to obey him, and he gave him his sons to educate. That Diogenes nobly acquitted himself of the task is admitted by all the principal authors of his time.

Laertes describes in full the system he pursued with the sons of Xeniades; as the description is too long to transcribe here, let it suffice to say, in passing, that there are very few modern teachers who could pretend to surpass it, especially in the skill and judgment with which the mind and body were exercised with a view to the full development of the powers of each, without injury to either. Both the young men and their fathers were forever grateful to Diogenes for his valuable instructions. Xeniades soon acquired such confidence in his integrity, that he readily intrusted him with the management of his whole property; and he had much more reason for congratulation than regret for having done so.

The sale of Diogenes has furnished subjects for many works, which are mentioned by several writers. Diogenes

Laertes acknowledges that he has derived many of his facts from one of these works, that by Eubolius, entitled *Diogenes Sold*. The same subject is also touched on by Lucian, in his dialogue entitled "The Sale of the Philosophers." Lucian, as our readers are aware, is always humorous and satirical. Like Diogenes himself, he spares none; but, also like the Sinopean, he has always truth and justice in view. There is not one of the philosophers whom he treats so gently as the great Cynic; at the same time, he hits off his foibles as they were understood in his time. He introduces Diogenes next after Pythagoras and before Aristotle. Although the part of the dialogue which relates to the Cynic is rather long, it is so characteristic, if due allowance be made for the exaggeration of the satirist, that we are sure our readers will need no apology for its introduction here. Jupiter comes forward on the platform as the proprietor of the philosophers who are to be sold, and opens the sale as follows: "Prepare the seats there, and get the place ready for the company; bring out the goods in order, but brush them up first, that they may appear handsome and invite customers to purchase them. You, Mercury, must be erier, and give notice to the buyers to assemble at the place of sale." Pythagoras being disposed of for ten minæ, Diogenes is introduced by the erier:

"*Mercury*. Would you have that dirty fellow from Pontus?

"*Jupiter*. By all means.

"*Mercury*. Hark ye, you round-shoulders, with the satchel on your back, come this way and walk round the bench. Here is a character for you, gentlemen, *manly, noble, free*; who bids here?

"*Bidder*. What is that you say, erier? sell a freeman!

"*Mercury*. Yes.

"*Bidder*. And are you not afraid he should summon you to the Areopagus for making him a slave?

"*Mercury*. He never minds being sold; for he thinks himself free in every place.

"*Bidder*. But what use can I make of such a dirty, ill-looking fellow, unless I wanted a digger or a water-carrier?

"*Mercury*. Oh! he is fitter for a porter at your door. You will find him faithful as a dog; a dog, indeed, *he is called*.

"*Bidder*. What sort of a fellow is he, and what does he profess himself?

"*Mercury*. Ask him, that is the best way.

[March,

"*Bidder.* I am afraid, by his fierce, surly countenance, that he will bark at me when I come near him, or perhaps bite. Do you not see how he takes up his staff, knits his brow, and looks angry and threatening?

"*Mercury.* Do not be afraid of him, he is quite tame.

"*Bidder.* In the first place, then, good man, of what country are you?

"*Diogenes.* Of all countries.

"*Bidder.* How is that?

"*Diogenes.* I am a citizen of the world.

"*Bidder.* Whom are you a follower of?

"*Diogenes.* Hercules.

"*Bidder.* I see you resemble him by the club. Have you got the lion's skin too?

"*Diogenes.* My lion's skin is this old cloak. I wage war, like him, against pleasures; not, indeed, by command, but of my own free will, appointed to reform the world.

"*Bidder.* A noble design. But what is your art, and in what does your principal knowledge consist?

"*Diogenes.* I am the deliverer of mankind, the physician of the passions, the prophet of universal truth and liberty.

"*Bidder.* Well, Mr. Prophet, if I buy you, in what manner will you instruct me?

"*Diogenes.* I shall take you first, strip you of all your finery, put on you an old coat, keep you poor, make you work hard, lie upon the ground, drink water, and take what food you can get. If you have any riches, at my command you must throw them into the sea. Wife, children, and country you must take no notice of, deeming them all trifles. You must leave your father's house and live in a sepulchre, some deserted tower, or a tub. Your scrip, however, shall be full of lupines and parchment, scrawled over on the outside. In this condition you shall say you are happier than the great king. If anybody beats or torments you, you shall think it no hardship nor complain of it.

"*Bidder.* How not complain when I am beaten! I have not the shell of a crab or a tortoise.

"*Diogenes.* You shall say, with a very little alteration, what Euripides did.

"*Bidder.* What's that?

"*Diogenes.* My mind is hurt, but my tongue shall not complain. But now, mind how you are to behave. You must be bold, saucy, and abusive to everybody, kings and beggars alike. This is the way to make them look upon you and think you a great man. Your voice should be barbarous and your speech dissonant, as like a dog as possible; your countenance rigid and inflexible, and your gait and demeanor suitable to it. Everything you say, savage and uncouth. Modesty, equity, and moderation you must have nothing to do with. Never suffer a blush to come upon your cheek. Seek the most public and frequented place; but when you are there, desire to be alone, and permit neither friend nor stranger to

associate with you ; for these things are the ruin and destruction of power and empire.

"*Bidder.* Away with thee. Thy tenets are filthy and abhorrent to humanity.

"*Diogenes.* But hark ye, friend, after all, mine is the easiest way, and you may go it without any trouble. It is a short cut to glory. You will want no education, learning, or trifles of that sort, be you ever so ignorant—a cobbler, a sausage-monger, a blacksmith, or a butler—you will not be a whit the less admired, provided you have but impudence enough and a good knack at abuse.

"*Bidder.* I want you not for such things. You may serve, however, by and by, for a sailor or a gardener, if he will sell you for two oboli.

"*Mercury.* Aye, aye, take him ; for he is so troublesome, makes such a noise, and is so abusive and insolent to everybody, that we shall be glad to get rid of him."

It is remarkable that the class of writers who have done most in modern times to render the memory of Diogenes infamous, are those who have attacked the Christian religion, either openly or covertly. There are reasons for it, however ; what some of them are we may learn from Bayle. The author of the great dictionary has no objection to the censure passed by Balzae on the priest for praising Diogenes, because the monks are in some respects like the Cynics, and, in the opinion of Bayle, the former should not be encouraged.* For the same reason Voltaire joins in the modern crusade against Diogenes.

Nor is it strange that it is the same class of philosophers who accuse Diogenes of atheism ; although they have no stronger proof to sustain the charge than that the Sinopean sometimes ridiculed the gods of the populace. La Mothe le Vayer, in commenting on this, remarks that he cannot undertake to say positively that a man who lived thousands of years ago was not an atheist, as some writers are pleased to represent him, but he forcibly adds that the testimony of the early fathers of the church who speak of him in terms of admiration is worth at least as much as that of any ordinary historians or biographers who have written many centuries later.† The

* "Ce dernier (the priest) me paraît digne de la censure que on lui décoche : car il faut empêcher le plus qui on petit grand on loue la mendicité des moines qu'un lecteur ne fasse attention à celle de philosophes cyniques."—*Dict. Hist. art. Diogenes.*

† "Je ne voudrois pas assûrer, que Diogenes ne fust aussi athée que cet écrivain le fait, rien ne m'obligeant à suspendre m'a créance pour ce regard que

fathers alluded to by La Mothe are St. Chrysostom and St. Hierosmus. The former presents the life and character of Diogenes as affording many examples of religious virtues, and the latter places his greatness far above that of Alexander.

La Mothe de Vayer justly remarks that if Diogenes had been the immoral, indecent person whom he is represented by his enemies, he would not have been held in the high veneration in which he was by the Stoics, who are admitted by all to have been the most austere of philosophers. Since their chief dogma was that virtue is the sovereign good, and that none can be good who do not live according to virtue, it is incredible that they could esteem a philosopher of another sect who was guilty of the most disgusting and unnatural vices.

But many of the stories told of Diogenes by those whose vices he exposed contain their own refutation; this is true, for example, of the relations which he is alleged to have held for many years, in the most public and disgraceful manner, with the celebrated courtesan Lais. When the testimony, if such it may be called, upon which this charge is sought to be sustained is carefully examined, it is found that at the time this scandalous conduct is represented to have taken place the courtesan must have been at least fourscore years old and the philosopher over seventy!*

We have already alluded to the gratitude evinced toward Diogenes, not only by his pupils, but also by their parents. Laertes mentions another fact or two illustrative of this feeling, which tend strongly to vindicate the philosopher. "Oneseritas of Ægina," he says, "had sent to Athens the younger of his two sons to be educated; the youth became so charmed with the discourses of Diogenes that he could not leave him. The elder son was then sent, and he became equally attached to Diogenes. Finally, the father himself went and became as much fascinated as his sons."† To this the biographer adds that among the disciples of Diogenes were Phocian, surnamed the Good, Stilpon of Megara, and many other distinguished men.

L'autorité des pères qui ont parlé de luy en si bonne part. Mais de le soustenir tel parce qu'il de moquait des dieux de la populace, c'est une très vicieuse conséquence."—*De la Vertu des Païens*, tome v. p. 134.

* *Vide Plutarch, Apophth.*; Diogenes Laert. etc. † Diogenes Laert. in *Vita*.

What all unprejudiced good men, whose education qualified them for studying the subject, have said in defence of Diogenes is fully justified by the precepts and other remarkable sayings of the philosopher as reported by Laertes and others. We will transcribe a few of these as they occur to us, and let the reader judge for himself, in connection with what we have already shown, whether they are such as could have emanated from an illiterate, brutal person, without shame or decency. Comparing man to the lower animals, he says: "When I consider human life and those who govern it, the physicians and the philosophers, man seems to me the wisest of animals; but when I cast my eyes on the interpreters of dreams, the necromancers and those who have confidence in them, on those who pride themselves on glory and riches, nothing appears to me more foolish than man." Among the "necromancers" he includes all that numerous class known at the present day as speculators, quacks, etc.

It was natural enough that, when he indulged in denunciations of the malefactors, the latter would do all they could to insult him, but their insults were powerless to induce him to swerve in the slightest degree from what he considered his duty. At the same time none need expect to attack him with impunity. Thus, being reproached with his old failing of having counterfeited money, "Oh! yes," said he, "there was a time when I was what you are at present; but you will never be what I am now." Being sarcastically asked on another occasion how it was that the poorest and commonest gave money and other gifts to ordinary beggars, while very few, if any, gave anything to philosophers, "The reason is plain enough," replied the sage: "there are none of those people so ignorant and stupid but they may be one day lame or blind, but under no circumstances can they expect to be philosophers." He made a similar reply to one who told him that all the people mocked at him. "Perhaps," he says, "the asses mock at them also; but they do not trouble themselves about the mockery of asses, and I trouble myself with theirs just as little."

He was sufficiently frank to those who asked him reasonable questions in a civil manner. Thus, for example,

being asked why he was called a dog, he replied, "*I flatter those who give me, I bark at those who do not give me, and I bite the wicked.*" To this it need hardly be added that he made a very broad distinction between those who were friendly and those who were unfriendly to himself, although he only "bit" those who were wicked. It is true that Christians are supposed to love their enemies as much as their friends, but before we condemn Diogenes, let us ask how many have met with such Christians. St. Chrysostom readily admits* that it was much better for the philosopher to act in accordance with his precepts than to profess, or say one thing and habitually do the reverse.

The enemies of Diogenes have relied much on his alleged relations with the ladies, as a means of defaming his character, but not a single fact is recorded of him by any reliable historian which affords any evidence of his being unduly partial to the sex. On the contrary, there are many facts which show that he regarded the charms of women pretty much as he did other dangerous luxuries. It is certain, at least, that he did not take much pains to flatter the sex; the most determined woman-hater could not have pursued the opposite course more persistently. Of this we have some curious evidences in his life by Laertes. Thus, seeing a woman suspended from an olive-tree, he exclaimed, "Would to God that all trees would produce such fruits!" meaning, of course, that it would be good for the world that all women were in a similar predicament. Observing a lady carried in a litter, he said, "It would be necessary to have a very different cage for so ferocious an animal." Returning from Sparta to Athens, he was asked whence he came. "I have come," he replied, "from the land of men, and I am going to that of women." His opinion of vicious women may be inferred from remarks like the following. Observing the son of a courtesan throwing a stone into the crowd, he said, "Be careful that you don't strike your father." In the same spirit he compares a beautiful courtesan to a dose of poisoned hydromel.

It is very true that a great reformer may be very severe in

* Lib. ii. contra Jovin. c. ix.

his strictures on ladies in general and yet be as fond of particular women as those who apply no language to them but that of approbation or admiration. But we think it will be generally admitted that none who really love the sex would be in favor of a community of wives. Men of strong affections for the sex are proverbially jealous even when they have no real cause ; it is only those that are nearly as indifferent to the charms of women as they are to those of men who could entertain for a moment the idea of a common property in wives and children, as recommended by Diogenes. This, indeed, was one of his weak points, but before we condemn him for it, after acquitting him of being the scandalous libertine which he is represented by his enemies, let us bear in mind that the divine Plato was an advocate of the same doctrine, and that accordingly, from his time to the present, a sentimental regard between the sexes which has scarcely the warmth of even ordinary friendship between men has been called " Platonic love."

Various works, no longer extant, are attributed to Diogenes ; several dialogues entitled Cephalion, Iethyas, Garaculus, The Panther, The Athenian People, Government, The Science of Manners, Riches, Aristarchus on Death, etc. In addition to these, seven tragedies are attributed to him, together with a large series of letters. Some deny that he was the author of all these ; but all the ancient authors credit him with the authorship of several valuable and learned works.

Various accounts are given of the manner in which he died, but all that is certain on the subject is that he was at least ninety years old at the time of his death. Athenaeus, who has vilified him in every other way, has also represented that he committed suicide ; but this would have been entirely contrary to his teachings through life, and to the unquestionable heroism of his character. One who battled as he did with the world for more than sixty years was not likely to commit suicide at ninety.

But whatever was the manner of his death, the highest honors were paid to his memory. It was deemed such a sacred privilege to inter him in a suitable manner, that a violent dispute arose between his numerous friends, which was only terminated by the magistrates ordering his burial at the public

expense. A magnificent tomb having been prepared for him, it was adorned by a column of Parian marble, terminating in the figure of a dog, the philosopher having always been proud of being compared to that courageous and faithful animal. His fellow-citizens were not pleased, however, until they dedicated to him a statue of their own, the work of the greatest artist of his time, and had the following inscription engraved on it: "Time corrodes brass; but thy glory, O Diogenes! will endure throughout all ages; for thou alone hast taught mortals to rely on themselves; thou hast pointed out to them the easiest way to happiness."*

More than two thousand years have passed since the original of this epitaph was written, as transcribed at the bottom of the page. We boast of having made vast improvements since that time; but how many modern cities or governments inscribe such epitaphs on such statues to honor the memory of their great thinkers, overlooking the faults, and taking account only of the virtues, of the benefactors of mankind?

ART. II.—Diplomatic Correspondence, Protocols, and other Documents. Paris, Athens, and Constantinople. 1868—9.

THE present Sultan of Turkey is an element in his own government, and in that respect does not resemble his late brother and predecessor, who, in 1853—4, resisted almost the whole authority of Lord Stratford de Radcliffe before he would declare war. Since the accession of Abdul Asiz, no foreign diplomatist can flatter himself with having guided the general tactics of the Divan, of which the sovereign head, with his fits of fierce energy and his gloomy and abrupt seclusion at times, reminds one of Sultan Mahmoud of old. Armed intervention, prompt and powerful, was imperial policy, which, not long ago, frightened Prince Charles and the Roumans from their designs upon Bulgaria, and caused the downfall of the aggressive

* "Γηράσκει καὶ χαλκός ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σὺν οὐτὶ^ν
κύδος ὁ πάς αἰών, Διόγενες, καθελεῖ,
μοῦνος ἐπει βιοτῆς αἰγάρκεα δύσαν ἔδειξας
Οντούς καὶ ζωάς οἴμον ἐλαφροταταν."

Bratianno ministry of Roumania, deceitful and contemptuous toward the Turkish cabinet; and the vigor of the Sultan might have led to rashness, strange as it may appear, but for the wise guidance of his prime minister. Fuad Pasha was the one man near him who could in part control the wild outbreaks of the Sultan, but Fuad has just died in Italy. Among those left at Constantinople, hardly one of his ministers dares to tell his master an unwelcome truth, for however insignificant the ruler of Turkey may appear to Europeans and Americans, at home he is a potentate into whose presence his courtiers enter with awe and respect.

Mussulman and Christian have cause to complain of his sway, perhaps, but equally. The Mussulman, in fact, says that he is worse off than his neighbor; for the Christian pays his taxes and sits at home, whilst the Mussulman pays his taxes and is subject to the inexorable conscription. The Christian subjects of the Porte, the great majority of whom are of the Slavonic race, have, nevertheless, obtained a political equality, and, day by day, are gaining an intellectual independence. In the European provinces the fusion of the Christian and Mussulman populations is being tried on a large scale and with the best chances of success; men of the same race and language, but divided in religion, are fast learning to live in perfect accord, as the old traditions of domination of one sect and subservience on the part of others are passing away. It is only necessary to read the official reports of the British consuls, and the statements of resident foreign traders, to know that the conditions of well-being and continuous improvement exist in all but the remotest parts of the Turkish empire, savage and benighted as are the whole Ottoman people often supposed to be.

Crete, the cradle of that civilization which was brought to Europe by the Phoenicians and Egyptians, whilst Homer lived, was crowded with inhabitants and flourishing cities, and repelled all foreign aggression during ten centuries, until subdued by the Romans some sixty years before Christ. It lost its reputation about the same time, and *to Cretanize with a Cretan*, in those days was a proverb meaning to fight him with his own weapons—to lie to him. The Turks conquered Crete

in 1669, and when Greece was constituted a state, in 1829-30, the nations of Europe, which guaranteed the independence of the Hellenic kingdom, formally placed Crete under the domination of the Porte, to which it at present belongs as indisputably as the Morea belongs to King George of Greece.

England and France, at the termination of the Greek war of independence, now nearly forty years ago, were divided, as to the disposition of Crete, between their fear of too far weakening Turkey and their desire to rescue a Christian population from what was then an intolerable yoke. The West had been all enthusiasm for insurgent Greece, although European diplomatists well knew that the Greek revolution had been instigated by Russia, where the Hetaesia, or secret society directing it, held its chief sittings. Russian armies, in anticipation of a reduced resistance, were already encroaching upon Turkish soil and had even reached Adrianople—so Crete was left to Turkey. The late King of the Belgians, then Prince Leopold, instigated by that partisan of the Czar, Capo d'Istria, urged that Greece should have Crete; but among other statesmen the Greeks had not inspired a confidence in keeping with the popular ardor which their cause had awakened across the Continent. After the battle of Navarino, which ended the contest, the most conspicuous domestic feature presented by Greece was furious hatred of native factions one against another, which, before the throne was disposed of, broke out into civil war. Crete, which contained two fifths Mohammedans in its population, had only half agreed to the revolution, and a great Philhellene, Lord Aberdeen himself, was opposed to the plan of Prince Leopold. The Russian-Hellenic policy, the western powers did not believe confined to Crete alone, but as having in view the most valuable part of the Turkish empire. Even had the Sultan abandoned Crete to Greece, they foresaw that that would not suffice to obtain quiet and security for Turkey.

In what precedes will be found, in part at least, the explanation of that friendly interest which the Greeks and Cretans, in their troubles, have, of late years, always found ready at hand throughout Europe—a fancied injustice perpetrated forty years ago by the allies of Greece, to whom, by the way,

she has since owed every thing. Crete, or the island of Candia, has at present 350,000 inhabitants, about half and half Mohammedian and Christian, and half and half joined in the administration of the local government.

The abrupt resolution of the council of the Sultan to stamp out the last spark of the late Cretan movement, by turning round at last to those who supplied the combustible material, startled Europe in the beginning of last December. The world was gradually forgetting the Moslem and the Cretan; from time to time telegrams appeared giving accounts of "another bloody engagement," between the Turks and the patriots, or Greeks, it is true; but Europe and America seemed to know tolerably well how to receive such warlike news. Messages from Mr. Skinner, and reports printed by Greek consuls on either side of the Atlantic, fell to the ground almost unnoticed. But now, all of a sudden, Turkey, who had been denying the existence of anything like an insurrection in Candia for the past twelve months, fiercely accosts King George and summons him and his subjects to desist in their unneighborly practices of instigating and protecting a rebellion, in the island. Such a course Greece was accused of having pursued for two years or more, unchecked by the remonstrances of Turkey to the three protecting powers of Greece—Russia, France, and England—until the Porte finally determined to redress her grievances herself.

Not only had the Greeks, according to Ottoman statements, been enrolling men and fitting out blockade runners, destined almost avowedly to stimulate the Cretan revolt from the time that revolt began, but the prime minister of Greece, who at the same time is minister of the interior, M. Bulgaris, catering for popularity which he was sadly in want of, and believing himself safe under the wings of the protecting powers, had latterly, it was declared, openly patronized systematic attacks upon the dominions of the Turk, with whom his sovereign was ostensibly at peace. A large corps of volunteers, armed and paid at the public expense, who proclaimed Crete to be their destination, paraded the streets of Athens a short time since, and their leader, Petropoulakes, who has been conspicuous in the Cretan fights, and who held a commission in the Greek

army, drove past the residence of the Ottoman minister in the Greek capital, with the Greek colors displayed from his carriage-box, and followed by some one hundred and fifty of the new legion. The Enosis and the Crete, it was currently reported, had been equipped for blockade-running, with Armstrong guns, ammunition, etc., supplied from the government arsenal at Nauplia and the dock-yard at Paros. The refugees from Crete, who had fled from the scenes of war in their own country to Argos and Ægina, and who were now desirous to return to their homes and accept the amnesty of the Sultan, were, it was alleged, prevented by the Greek mobs from so doing, and M. Bulgaris had persistently refused to protect or assist them.

The Turkish minister at Athens, Photiades Bey, who is a man of talent, a friend of Christian culture, and a Greek, was, therefore, ordered by the Porte to demand of the Greek government a direct assurance that it would prevent the departure of troops destined to reinforce the Cretans and the blockade-runners, and that it would extend help to the Cretan refugees. At the same time, Photiades Bey was to inform the Athens cabinet, that, in case of any rupture, the ports of the Ottoman empire would be closed to Greek vessels, as all Greek subjects would be ordered to depart from Turkey within a fixed time.

The following is a summary of the circular addressed by M. Delyanni, Greek minister of foreign affairs, to France, Great Britain, and Russia, in reply to the formal inquiry of the three protecting powers as to the actual condition at the time of relations between Greece and Turkey. It bears date Athens, (Nov. 27,) Dec. 9. "The four points brought into prominence by the Sublime Porte, and to which the Greek government is expected to reply, are: The dissolution by the Hellenic government of the volunteer corps of Petropoulakes; 2d. A prohibition against armed Greek vessels making voyages to Crete; 3d. Protection for fugitive Cretan families on Greek territory who desire to return to their homes; 4th. Respect for the rights of the Porte and treaties." The Greek minister then goes on to explain to the three powers:

"The government of King George could not dissolve the corps of Petropoulakes, or any other corps of its citizens, proceeding, at their own peril,

to fight abroad, the constitution of the state not permitting it to interfere with the liberty of Hellenic subjects, and the law of nations not compelling it to do so. With regard to these volunteers, the Hellenic government has taken some means to pursue and bring back, by force, to their ranks soldiers of the line who had deserted to follow Petropoulakes. For nearly three years, during which the insurrection in Candia has lasted, several hundreds of volunteers have gone and returned from there, without that being considered proof of ill-will on the part of the royal government, or as a violation of the law of nations and of existing treaties. The royal government will continue to perform what its neutrality (qualified as described) imposes upon it, by not permitting officers and soldiers in its regular service to join the bands of the recruits referred to. The government of the king has never permitted, and will not permit in future, armed Greek vessels in its ports to continue to supply with provisions the insurgents of Crete; but the institutions of the country do not allow, and the law of nations does not compel it to prevent, ships, belonging to individuals, or to commercial associations, undertaking this service at their own peril. The government of his majesty has accorded already, and will continue to accord, its protection to every Cretan emigrant who should desire to reenter Crete. More than forty convoy-ships have already left, and the government of the king has never hesitated, in spite of the much-excited national sentiment in Greece in consequence of affairs in Candia, to use the police in arresting the violence exercised by other Cretans to prevent the intended departure of some of their countrymen for home. As to the fourth point, the reference of which is obscure, the government of his majesty has never failed to respect treaties, etc., and has even been obliged to invoke that respect on the part of others, etc."

The admissions made by the Greek foreign minister, his defiant tone under a diplomatic guise, astonished all Europe when this document was printed, as may well be supposed. But the dispute between the two governments was almost brought to a crisis by Hobart Pasha, in command of the Turkish squadron, who, at the beginning of December, put to sea as a sort of *appui* to the remonstrances of the Porte already addressed to King George. He fell in with the celebrated Greek blockade-runner, the Enosis, which had just successfully landed about 900 of the troops of Colonel Petropoulakes in the service of the Cretan committee, at the south-eastern cape of Crete, and was on her return to Syra on the 14th of December. When at about four miles from land, the Turkish vice-admiral fired an unshotted gun to bring to the Enosis, to which the latter replied, hulling the corvette Izzidin

which accompanied the frigate bearing the flag of Hobart Pasha, having swept the decks of the latter vessel by a previous shot, which, however, did little damage. The Enosis was pursued into the roadstead of Syra, where the Turk demanded the surrender of the Greek, which the Syriots refused. Here the activity of Hobart Pasha was brought to a stand-still by the interference of French naval authorities, who advised him to renounce his idea of blockading Syra to cut out the Enosis, until he received further instructions from his government. The Ottoman admiral desisted, upon condition that the Enosis should be conveyed to the Piraeus by a Greek frigate, and handed over to the constitutional authorities, which it was promised him should be done.

Whilst Englishmen and Frenchmen were reading the details and developments of this episode at sea, the remainder of the correspondence between the minister of Turkey at Athens, and the Greek foreign minister, M. Delyanni, was published—that immediately preceding the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the two countries. We make an epitome, carefully embracing all the points, as space is wanting for the documents entire. In a note dated December 10th, Photiades Bey, in the service of Turkey, wrote :

"The cabinet of the Sultan does not consider it necessary to search for proofs of its sincerity, etc., toward the government of his Hellenic majesty. The history of the Cretan insurrection for the last three years is known, and there is little need now to enumerate the machinations concocted publicly, and under the eyes of the Greek authorities, by committees sitting in the capital of the kingdom itself, with the object of fomenting and maintaining that insurrection against the will of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Candia. The history of civilized countries is without an example of the contempt with which the law of nations has been treated by these committees. They have spared neither threat nor falsehood to the poor islanders to oblige them to take up arms against their legitimate sovereign. Bandits, under the name of volunteers, have been sent into Crete, and, by menace and fear, a portion of the unhappy people have been induced to emigrate into Greece to find there only misery and suffering. Deceived and abused, they preferred to return to their allegiance and their country, but spite of their entreaties and the intercessions of the Porte, they have not been allowed to depart; they have been kept back, in some instances by force of arms, and the few who have regained their own land have done so at the risk of their lives.

"Although tranquillity has been restored in Crete, and the rebellion, save a few roving bands in the mountains, been put down, the Hellenic leaders have persisted in raising fresh volunteers, and have kept the Cretan fugitives from returning to their homes, the easier to deceive public opinion, in Greece and Europe, as to the entire suppression of the rebellion. The documents exchanged during two years between the Turkish and Greek governments bear evidence of these facts as well as of the Sultan's moderation, though each protestation of the Porte has been invariably met with a reply equivalent to a non-reception, or a declaration of real or assumed impotency. This state of things, growing worse and worse, has deprived the Turkish cabinet of any hope of a speedy return, on the part of Greece, to sentiments of justice and respect for the laws of nations."

Here follows a list of the grievances of Turkey laid at the door of the Hellenic cabinet, among which are: a declaration made by a former minister of King George, that Greek government funds paid for and kept the blockade-runner, the Crete, at the time in active service; another ministerial declaration embodying the project of snatching Crete from Turkey at any cost; outrages unpunished upon Ottoman soldiers, and the causes of complaint already adverted to; active aid to the rebellion, disrespect of treaties, retention in Greece of Christian subjects of the Porte, etc. This note ends with the Turkish ultimatum—a final official demand, upon the Hellenic government, under five separate heads: 1st. Dispersion of volunteers and prevention for the future; 2d. Disarming of the Enosis, Crete, and Panhellenion, or, at any rate, a closing of the Greek ports to them; 3d. Permission to Cretans to return into Crete with aid and protection where necessary; 4th. Punishment for aggressions upon Ottoman soldiers; 5th. Respect for treaties. Without a full and perfect assent to which five points, the Turkish legation was to quit Athens.

The Greek minister replied to the foregoing ultimatum of the Sultan, by generalities or empty retort, in a despatch dated the 15th December, the gist of which is the substance of what he stated to the three powers, as answer to the Turkish charges, in his circular (as above given) of the 9th December. The tenor of Mr. Delyanni's despatch of the 15th is supercilious and confident, and anticipates hostilities with complacency. Relying perhaps on the habitual timidity of the Porte, the ministers of King George refused to pledge themselves that

the intrigues, or even the open acts of hostility, of which the Greeks by their own showing had been the authors for a term of years, should be brought to an end—and the Greek government in fact rejected the Turkish ultimatum. “The demands of the Porte are just and reasonable,” said the London Times of the 18th December. “They amount simply to this: that the Greek government and people shall cease to carry on war against the Sultan.”

The grounds assumed by Greece and the language of her ministers seemed to indicate at the outset that King George was supported in his position by some powerful ally, since a war between Turkey and Greece was simply absurd. All eyes turned upon Russia as the power interested by tradition in hectoring indirectly the Turk, and in promoting any war or rebellion which might weaken or occupy the *sick man*. The true line of the great powers appearing, upon reflection, so manifestly to be one of neutrality in the quarrel, and the statement that joint attempts at mediation at Athens had been made by Russia with France and England, seconded likewise by Prussia, seemed, however, to dissipate for the time the suspicion touching the northern power and her clandestine manoeuvring.

The proceedings of Turkey were on all sides acknowledged to be dignified and just, and conscientiously observant of the common interests of peace. By her moderation, since 1854, the Porte, as a European power according to the treaty of Paris, had gained respect, and even a certain prestige among the statesmen of other countries, and the most democratic and republican journals in England and France condemned the conduct of King George’s cabinet and people. “The government at Athens,” said the London Daily News—the organ of radical John Bright—“has taken wrongful advantage of its own comparative irresponsibility as a protected state, of its insignificance, and of its insolvency, to bark and nibble at the much-abused and long-suffering Turk, as one sees a pert and froward little terrier bark and nibble at a good-natured mastiff, with a muzzle on its jaws.”

The despatch from Mr. Delyanni, in answer to the complaints of Turkey, was considered by the Paris press, almost without

exception, as weak and unconclusive. "With the Greek minister's principle of free locomotion," said the *Constitutionnel*, "his promises to respect treaties, etc., are absurd and nil. From the moment that a nation does not consider itself bound to establish an internal police in such a way as to prevent its subjects from invading a neighbor's territory, and that, on the contrary, it proclaims as a constitutional right armed incursions, and the giving of material encouragement to insurrection in a state with which it keeps up diplomatic relations—to discuss rights and treaties seems idle. Greek interpretation of international law would sanction piracy at sea and filibustering on land."

The maritime capabilities of the Greek people are out of all proportion to their present political importance. Left to themselves, they might clear the Levant of the Turkish merchant flag, cover the Archipelago with swarms of privateers, and make every island an arsenal of insurrection. The little kingdom of Greece is but a very badly organized expression of the genius and faculty of a reckless and expanding race, which has in its classical traditions some basis for its dreams, and with a world-wide sympathy, some reason for its faith in an imperial future. It is hardly better than Turkey, so far as agriculture, roads, and the safety of travellers are concerned. "But education in Greece," says the report of the British secretary of legation for 1867, "is within the reach of all classes. The University of Athens had 1182 students, nearly equal in number to that of the University of Edinburgh." The kingdom had a population of 752,000 in 1838, and in 1861 of 1,096,000 without the Ionian islands, and to-day the total is not far from 1,500,000 souls, of which some fifty per cent. are engaged in agriculture, and twenty per cent. in commerce. Athens has 45,000 inhabitants. The army is raised by conscription, to which all males of eighteen years of age are liable, and the term of service is six years. In 1867 it amounted to 14,300 men, costing annually £1,500,000 sterling. The fleet consists of ten steamers and ten sailing-vessels, carrying, together, 182 guns, with two iron-clads on the stocks; but there are countless merchantmen, and the Greek seamen are considered inferior to none in the world. The revenue in 1865 approx-

imated to £1,000,000 sterling, and the expenditure £1,064,000. The internal debt is £800,000, while the foreign debts foot up £7,250,000, an aggregate, say, of £8,000,000 sterling, the interest upon which the government does not pay.

Turkey, financially, is in no splendid condition, however. She has borrowed during eleven years some £74,000,000 sterling, of Europe, and lately consolidated all her indebtedness into a foreign debt of £36,000,000 sterling, held mostly in England and France, upon which she just manages to pay the interest. Her revenue estimates for 1867-8 were £14,400,000, against an expenditure of £15,300,000 sterling, and according to the report for 1867 of Mr. H. P. T. Barron, the British secretary of legation, a continuance of her condition, let alone the expenses of a war, must result in bankruptcy. The sinews of war if not at hand for Turkey, for Greece, considering her financial dishonesty with her bankruptcy, are *less* than zero.

On the other hand again, the Turkish empire is a vast territory, covering the finest part of Asia, as well as a great region in Europe, and capable of furnishing levies for armies for years to come. Throughout all the Mussulman countries, the authority of the Sultan is supreme, and even Egypt would send him troops in case of necessity. If the deadly struggle takes place, the fact that the Mussulmans are less than a third part of the inhabitants of European Turkey, of course, will have its importance. But if out of a population of 15,500,000 there are but 2,000,000 pure Ottomans, among the Christians of Turkey dissensions are rife, and that, with such difficulties as attended the assertion of its independence from the Orthodox Greek creed, by the Bulgarian Church, might prevent any effective sympathy or united action with the Christians of Greece. Turkey has an army of 180,000 regular troops, of which 40,000, are retained at Constantinople, and 40,000, more or less, were employed in Crete. The remaining 70,000 and the 40,000, now that they are not required in Crete—together about 110,000 men—constitute the land force that the Turkish war minister could direct upon Greece.

In the Ottoman navy, English ideas and English practice are followed as closely as possible. The Turkish vice-admiral,

Hobart Pasha, who was a captain in the British navy, is an experienced officer of accorded merit and energetic character. During the Crimean war, the Turkish fleet, of nearly seventy vessels, was almost entirely destroyed by battles and storms, and in 1855 it was next to nothing. But in 1858 more than twenty screw-steamers had been built or purchased, numbering 820 guns, as foundation of a marine force, and latterly eight Glasgow-built iron-clads have been added thereto, some of them, like the Osman Ghazy, being equal to any in the world. At present, the Sultan's navy consists of about forty ships and 3000 men.

He must be a very sanguine Greek indeed who can believe that, if the European powers stood aside, the Turkish army and navy could not overpower the most heroic resistance of his plucky but reckless state. Even if he reckoned on the sluggishness or forbearance of Turkey—basing himself upon countless precedents, and more recently its line of conduct in meekly recognizing the union of the Danubian principalities, or its prompt withdrawal of its garrison from Servia; or if he presumes upon a religious dislike of the Mohammedan throughout Christendom—he should bear in mind, that the Ottoman is keenly aware that he owes his present safety to the exertions of England and France, in 1854, and that, as a like danger may occur again, policy, if not gratitude, impels the Sultan to act as far as he can according to the wishes of the western Christian powers. And a simple fact, like the one that the Turkish minister at Athens, who presented the ultimatum, is a Greek and a believer in Christ, is one of those instances which, upon examination, will satisfy European minds, that, if the wall of separation between the Mussulman and the Christian is not broken down in the Levant, it is not always owing to Turkish bigotry and intolerance.

The Mussulman, theologically, is no further from the Christian than is the Jew. The two great barriers between him and us are polygamy and slavery. In the Turkish empire slavery is passing away, no more white slaves are to be had, and the viceroy of Egypt has declared his intention to put an end to the trade in Nubian blacks. Polygamy will not long

survive. It is too much at variance with western notions, with which the higher classes in Turkey are becoming more and more imbued. These two reforms accomplished, and nothing remains to obstruct perfect unity in Turkey, under one sovereign and one code of laws. Religious differences have almost everywhere lost their influence in affairs of state. Two centuries ago, they governed European polities, now they have scarcely any effect. Who that knows what Turkey was forty years back and what it is now, can deny that an immense social advance has been made? The superstition of ages has been broken down; the pride, intolerance, and cruelty ingrained in the race have been effaced or repressed, and no one can truthfully assert, at the present time, that the Turkish government is a tyrannical one. Indeed, in the matter of sterling progress, the Turkish empire has not only surpassed Greece, relatively to their starting-points, but other and more important states of Europe and America. "Since the establishment of Greek independence," says a late number of the grave Saturday Review, "Turkey has advanced far more rapidly than Greece, in the process of civilization. The anti-Turkish party in England virtually propose a crusade, for the promotion of the orthodox Eastern faith, and for the aggrandizement of the Greek nation."

If any power would be disposed seriously to protect the Hellenic government in its present unjustifiable course, as before mentioned, Russia is the only one of which such a programme could be suspected. But Russia has no ships in the Mediterranean that could contend with the navies of England and France; the Black Sea is neutralized; the Russian soldiers have not yet any arms of precision. Poland is not Russified, Sebastopol is still in ruins, and the mouths of the Danube are not in the Czar's possession. Muscovite policy and bias may have been and yet be with the Greek, but the Emperor is too wise to cling to Greece, once England and France should flatly declare for Turkey and her manifest rights.

The Greeks, to be sure, may all concur with Mr. Stefanos Xenos, who wrote to the Manchester (Eng.) *Guardian* newspaper in the most eloquent and confident terms, that "this

savage Colossus the poor Osmanli has at last exposed to the world in all his impotence." Mr. Xenos finds 20,000 regulars and 40,000 national guards as the army of Greece, enthusiastic, patriotic, and commanded by officers trained in the best military schools of Europe. He counts 60,000 sailors, the first in the Mediterranean, reports iron-clads in the Greek navy fit to cope with Hobart Pasha's best, and points to the extensive coasts of Turkey as so very vulnerable. The Porte, he thinks, in case of war could borrow no more money of Western Europe, and although he admits that the Greeks could not obtain much, "still they will not be dragged to the battle-field like serfs!" which battle-field, according to Mr. Xenos, must be Turkish territory. He adds in conclusion, that his spirited and generous countrymen having in the last two years lent £700,000 to King George, and sent £2,000,000 to aid the Cretan insurrection, he feels sure in case of hostilities declared they would yet find something handsome to carry on the righteous fight. But without contesting his considerable figures, Mr. Xenos's assertions touching the Greeks and their means and advantages, judging by lights familiar to all Europe, are, excusably enough, decidedly rose-colored. He underrates the Turk, which is not his sole or least mistake, and with all our admiration for the more elevated Greek character, his loud praises and faith in the immaculate purposes of the modern Hellenes bring to mind some awkward stories and proverbs of their buccaneering patriotism and light-fingered friendship where neighbors or allies possessed what they chanced to covet.

The urgent representations of the different diplomatists at Athens having produced no material effect upon the cabinet of King George, the Turkish minister to Greece was recalled by the Sultan, and the Greek envoy to Constantinople received his passports, and the suspected Hellenic subjects in Turkey notice to quit.

Before leaving Constantinople, M. Delyanni, the Greek minister to Turkey, (a brother, we believe, of the Greek foreign minister of the same name,) levelled at the grand vizier and the Turkish cabinet a Parthian shot in the shape of a parting note, dated Pera, 23d December, wherein he says:

[March,

"I have received my passports and the note of your excellency. The fine conditions (those stipulated by the Turkish ultimatum) not having been officially communicated to me, I have no right to discuss them. The whole world will soon have to decide as to who is responsible for the present rupture of relations between Turkey and Greece, just declared by the Sublime Porte. The government of the king, my august sovereign, has spared nothing in order to avoid this crisis. Not only has it kept itself on a footing of legal neutrality with regard to the Cretan insurrection, etc., etc., but has, moreover, for two years past, patiently supported all sorts of acts of hostility, violence, and oppression committed in the different Ottoman provinces, to the prejudice of Hellenic co-nationalists and their interests. For the past six months I have constantly been witness to acts of this nation—arbitrary and illegal arrests, scandalous banishments, seizure of Hellenic vessels in open sea, and a constant and systematic denial of justice in all matters in which my co-nationalists were concerned. In the face of so many infractions of existing treaties, the Hellenic government has given proofs of the greatest moderation. Its representative at Constantinople confined himself to pointing out all these illegalities to the Sublime Porte, and asking a separation, which he never obtained. The Porte, misunderstanding this conciliatory disposition on the part of the Hellenic Government, has thought proper to break off, the fourth time in thirty years, its diplomatic and commercial relations with Greece—without any new circumstances having occurred different from what already existed, to justify, in the slightest degree, this rigorous proceeding, and without giving the time to bring about an arrangement. It devolves, therefore, upon the Porte, before the civilized world, to justify this harshness and the consequences. Having confided the protection of my co-nationalists to the legation of the United States of North America, etc., I beg to inform your excellency that I shall quit Constantinople," etc., etc.

One question at once suggests itself. If the Turks had been so brutally and uniformly severe upon the Greek residents in their dominions, as M. Delyanni asserts—why have they remained so pertinaciously in Turkey to make fortunes, become influential rayahs, and endure kindred torments? The Greek rayahs absorb the internal trade of Turkey, as Greek merchants and vessels almost entirely monopolize its external commerce.

Perhaps in none of the Eastern disputes had the great powers been so unanimous in their fault-finding with the domestic and foreign policy of a country as in the present Turko-Greek affair, and with the pretensions of MM. Bulgaris and Delyanni, for their government was pronounced to be positively in the wrong. By the despatches of the Greek foreign minister, the most zealous Philhellene could but per-

ceive that the Athens cabinet was, by its own account, substantially guilty of all that Photiades Bey, the Turkish mouth-piece, had laid to its charge. M. Delyanni abdicated all control by a nation over its own citizens, and made each brigand a potentate with the right to levy war and declare peace. No better proof of the hallucination of the Greek government was needed than the utterances of its own minister. In his reply, M. Delyanni had, more or less, begged the principal questions, to enlarge upon the threat by Turkey to expel in case of rupture, from her realm, Hellenic subjects settled there, who did not own the jurisdiction of the Porte, said to be some 200,000 in all. M. Delyanni also made an elaborate defence of his government, regarding its course toward the Cretan refugees, denying Greek ill-treatment, etc. He adverted to the matter of openly levying, at Athens, and drilling and equipping bands of soldiers to attack the sultan's authority in Crete, as though it were an insignificant question of a few individual Hellenes, at the same time that he tacitly admitted the complaint of wholesale connivance made by the Sultan's representatives. The unscrupulous conduct of the Greek government its minister did not deny, but sought to justify it by documents subversive of all national security.

A cordial understanding upon the Turko-Greek difference seemed, then, to exist among the great powers in their advice given at Athens and Constantinople; yet, in the face of the persistence of the Greek ministers in their course, public speculation became alive again touching the moral countenance which was sustaining King George, as the only explanation of his policy. For two years, it was alleged, the Hellenic cabinet had heard—but flippantly noticed—warnings addressed to it by England, France, and Austria on this very subject of support given to the Cretan insurrection. It was averred that M. Bulgaris and his colleagues did not believe that all the powers acting in concert were in earnest. About three of them, above named, there could be no doubt, but the Greek cabinet, it was thought, did not deem that Russia really meant what she joined the others in counselling King George. Russia, doubtless, saw with satisfaction the prolongation of the strife in Crete, as it

added to the embarrassments of the Porte; still Europe could not conceive the czar as ready to renew the struggle in which he was defeated twelve years ago, or that, in case of an outbreak between Turkey and Greece, he would grant the latter solid aid. The cabinet of St. Petersburg by public voice was called upon to give the Greeks a positive and open intimation to that effect.

Some there were who declared that Greece had only acted toward Turkey as Piedmont acted toward the two Sicilies, or as Italy, under the administration of Ratazzi, acted toward the pontifical government. There were others, perhaps, who fancied that the Moslem should recross the Hellespont, and that the European continent should contain no state not professing the Christian religion.

If Europe had freely condoned elsewhere conduct that was not easily distinguishable from that of Greece in Crete, except in point of success, the great powers seemed, in the present case, to have an acute perception of the evil of such precedents to the peace of the Continent. Such futile violations of international comity were to be discountenanced, as anarchy in Europe might be the result—whilst the Moslem of late had certainly shown himself to be a more peaceable neighbor than some of the more ambitious Christian nations.

The aggressors in the present affair were the Greeks. Their notion has been that they could play a great part in Europe and form a governing class over all the Eastern Christians in a revived Byzantine empire. It is, however, worthy of remark that the Christians of Turkey have been more eager to shake off Greek influence than Ottoman rule. The Bulgarians, for instance, thought more of being rid of Greek ecclesiastics than of bearing the civil and military authority of the Pasha. The struggles of the Greek race and Christian populations of Europe against the Mussulman did not begin with that sentimental enterprise the creation of the Hellenic kingdom, nor need they end should the Greek be devoured by the Turk to-morrow. The Mussulman power would continue to be honey-combed in Europe, and the restless and encroaching genius of the Hellene might be as active as ever in the Levant, so, simply war, or simply no war, would not permanently remedy the situation.

A project to summon a conference of the great powers on the subject of the dispute between the Porte and Greece naturally, then, found favor among diplomatists, especially as the third of the three protecting powers had been unwilling, or unable, alone, to address to Greece such a remonstrance as would have brought her to a sense of her duties, or even to join England and France in their most urgent representations. What little plea could be made for Greece was now put forward by one or two journals out of the hundreds in England and France. "Greece as a nationality was small, scarcely strong enough to stand alone," hence a natural, even excusable, desire for territory and increased population. Her classical origin and benefactions to the civilized world were stereotyped claims. Then the peoples surrounding her, and which she had tried to seduce, had more in common with the nationality of Greece than that of Turkey—almost kin in blood, they possessed the same religion. If a bit of underhand Greek policy was plausible and not without admitted precedent, and it was simply fair to give the government of King George the benefit of all that could be said in mitigation of its procedure. "Napoleon the First protested against the sittings of royal committees in London, and their warlike preparations, and the English government replied that its constitution prevented its interfering with such bodies, though England and France were at the time at peace—just what M. Delyanni replied!" wrote Mr. Xenos to the Times. "Garibaldian bands with smart uniforms and colors flying left London in larger numbers than Greek volunteers left Athens, (?) still England did not stop them any more than did the cabinet at Washington suppress the bellicose declarations of the Fenians."

But Mr. Xenos knows that those royal committees despatched no Englishmen to stir up the Chouans of Brittany; had they, the Emperor would have made quick work of them, and possibly have turned upon England to stop the nuisance. Certainly he would not, like Turkey, have deferred to foreign meddling, powerful as was Great Britain. The English, too, did eventually put a stop to the Garibaldian recruitment, and the President of the United States would arrest an open Fenian invasion movement, or, in the impossibility, leave the expedi-

tion to its fate with the greatest unconcern, as in the Walker and Lopez cases.

And at the same time it was asked for the Porte why that government should consent to defer its differences with Greece to the arbitration of the great powers. It insisted upon nothing which every one of them did not admit as its due, nothing which it had not the right and means to enforce, nothing which Europe could ask it to abate, even for the sake of peace. Turkey's wish, at heart, was to be left alone—to be permitted to compel the Greeks to discontinue their malpractice. A conference under such circumstances seemed intended to impose upon the Sultan submission to the insolence of the Athens cabinet, which appeared to believe itself backed up by Russia, and perhaps by Prussia, when members of it coolly talked of the diplomatic rupture as being a warlike one, and of a continued invasion of the Ottoman territory. It was the Greeks, in truth, who threatened war; and to propose a conference to decide whether Turkey or Greece was in the wrong, and to devise an arrangement for reconciling them, was very like taking part with Greece in the gross violation of neutrality she had so long committed and announced her intention of persisting in.

To sum up the case for a conference, the situation was thus: Greece had interfered, in a manner which her insignificance rendered worse than inexcusable, in the affairs of Turkey. The latter power demanded abstinence from future intermeddling. Moderation, the consistent policy of the Sultan, had appeared to be timidity in the eyes of the Greeks. The realizing of that mistake and the expression of European opinion might, with time, qualify the pretensions of the Hellenic ministers and calm the turbulence of the Greek people behind them, who, it was asserted, were fast pushing their government to a conflict. A conference, then, gained time, and afforded an opportunity for King George to retract.

Prussia, or Prussia and Russia, proposed the conference, "only to protect Greece against the punishment she has so well merited, and to compel, if possible, the Sultan to sacrifice to the falsely called interests of peace something more of his own independence," cried the London Standard, with much truth if

much bitterness. The Porte, "though it did not perceive the necessity of a conference, accepted the proposition, provided that the five points of the Turkish ultimatum, above given, should form the basis of the discussion, and the Crete question be not brought forward." The steady and rational temper of the divan was manifested by its adhesion to the project, and its appended stipulation was a natural and simple one.

The Ottoman rule in Europe has against it nature, sentiment, and visible destiny, even though the kingdom of George I. stand in the position of a culprit before the bar of Europe. By a little straining of one's reasoning, both parties might have been deemed, in some sort, amenable to a tribunal, or rather, to a council of arbitration, consisting of the protecting powers of the Greek kingdom and the signatories of the treaty of Paris of 1856. The first were responsible for the good behavior of their charge, the second for the integrity of the Ottoman empire. If the Hellenic kingdom was in the position of a protected state, and therefore of virtual subordination to its protectors, the Porte could not be regarded as exempt from the moral jurisdiction of the signatories of the treaty of Paris. As between the governments of France and Prussia, in the affair of Luxembourg, the Emperor set an example which no other sovereign need be ashamed to follow. France had been accused of clandestinely tampering with the King of Holland, and had raised thereby a menacing question as to the proprietorship of the duchy, which only a war or a conference could settle.

At five o'clock of Saturday, January 9th, under the presidency of the Marquis de la Valette, representing the French government, MM. the Count de Stackelberg, Russia; Djemil Pasha, the Porte; the Chevalier Nigra, Italy; Lord Lyons, England; the Prince de Metternich, Austria; the Count de Solms, Prussia; and Rizo Rangabé, Greece—met at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris, and formed themselves into a conference, all parties, excepting M. Rangabé, representing those governments which signed the treaty of Paris in 1856. The representative of Greece present had merely a consultive voice, the avowed object of the conference being how far there was reason to give satisfaction to the demands of the Turkishulti-

matum. The announcement of this restriction pleased all who were apprehensive that Russia, who was now accused of "having been intriguing in every court of Europe to effect the annexation of Crete to Greece," would endeavor to force upon the conference a declaration as to the future relation of Crete to Turkey; or that France, declared to be fickle and uncertain, would serve her own secret purposes, antagonistic to Russia and Prussia, by levying sweeping damages upon Greece. Many were lukewarm as to the productive labors of the conference, and some remained even suspicious of the ultimate result, and hinted at the possibility of France, Russia, Prussia, and Italy forming one voice and one phalanx against Turkey, England, and Austria.

What tended to simplify matters before the conference, or what was so regarded by the outside public, was the intelligence of the surrender of Petropoulakes, the Greek colonel who had so recently reached Crete with a small but well-equipped band of volunteers. The prompt discomfiture of the veteran was considered proof that the Turks had indeed completely mastered even the Greek contingent to the quondam rebellion. For upward of a year past, it was now currently known, "the bloody Cretan insurrection" had been confined to a few small bands, flying from fastness to fastness, denuding and disturbing the native population, while the Turks had been steadily completing their system of cross-roads and block-houses, which Petropoulakes unexpectedly found all prepared to confuse, hector, and envelop him. Joined, from the other side of the island, by his son Leonidas, near Mount Ida, their united forces amounted to nearly 2500 men. They had but five days' provisions with them, and, of the ungrateful Christian peasants whom they had come to save, those who did not flee at their approach, having no thought but for their oil-crops, so far from welcoming the Greek soldiers, gave the Turkish troops information which enabled them to coop up the invaders in the mountains. A series of skirmishes cost the Greeks some 650 men, and chased, harassed, and without rations, they finally reached the seat of the phantom Cretan provisional government at Sphakia, in the hills. But the national government, which had nothing to vouch for its existence but decrees and

despatches announcing splendid victories, could only thank its self-appointed champions, and Petropoulakes rapidly retreated to Askypho, a sort of eagle's nest in the White Mountains. Here a body of 150 tried to desert, demoralization set in, and the three weeks' campaign closed abruptly by a capitulation, the terms of which illustrated Turkish cruelty on the part of Omer Nailé Pasha, to whom the surrender was made. Those terms were: "The lives of the volunteers to be spared, their baggage and arms to be returned to them upon their landing in Greece, and their food and lodging to be furnished by the Turkish authorities until they reached their own shore!"

With this surrender the last pretence of an existing rebellion in Crete has vanished. The captured volunteers were brought back to their country by Hobart Pasha, who confused M. Bulgaris considerably—the damaging moral effect of marching the patriots, as liberated prisoners, through the streets of Athens, presenting itself—by asking him where they should be landed? The band of which these captives formed a part, was intended "to wrest Crete from the Ottomans or die"—to revivify the Cretan insurrection as the special envoy of the Athenians.

Simultaneous reports touching the Turkish fleet possessed a certain interest. The Ottoman admiral since the chase of the Enosis had been blockading the port of Syra, as, after promise that judiciary investigation should meet Hobart Pasha's complaints as to the deeds of the blockade-runner, the authorities had eventually refused to act. Unable then to obtain immediate examination, Hobart Pasha had entrusted his affair to the commander of the French steamer Le Forbyn, lying in the same port, as a superior officer of one of the protecting powers. A protest was addressed under date December 16th by M. Delyanni, Greek minister of foreign affairs, to the three protecting powers, in allusion to the Enosis affair. If not suggestive of Satan rebuking sin, the protest of the Greek foreign minister, addressed to the protecting powers in whose faces the Greek government had just snapped its fingers, when remonstrated with for hostile acts of the same nature as those which were the burden of M. Delyanni's complaint—was regarded as inconsistent and even ludicrous on the

part of a cabinet which had repulsed the advice of the powers now taken into confidence and in a certain sense appealed to ; and for one who professed himself so superior to the ordinary principles of international law when obedience to them would hinder his own purposes, to invoke them literally in order to stigmatize an adversary, assuming the insignificant rôle of a political Robert Macaire.

Upon the meeting of the Conference, in which, as before remarked, M. Rangabé had but a consultive voice, that gentleman protested at his not having the same authority as Turkey, and, deaf to all persuasion, withdrew from the sitting, (the second, we believe,) and addressed a note to the deliberating body, declining to take any place therein except upon the same level with that granted Turkey. It was pointed out to M. Rangabé that Turkey had her seat as one of the signatories of the treaty of Paris in 1856, which treaty Greece did not sign, but M. Rangabé declared that the conference being called to settle difficulties between Turkey and Greece, if Turkey had a right to be present, Greece certainly had that same and as large a right. M. Rangabé's pretension was most plausible, and confounded for a time the assembled plenipotentiaries; but the reflection that they were met rather to protect Greece from the consequences of her refusal to subscribe to the Turkish ultimatum, to show her that she was wrong and to endeavor to stay the just hand of Turkey, soon restored equilibrium, and the business of the conference proceeded. Some outside supported M. Rangabé's claim—some amongst those who had condemned Greece; others declared that a ward in chancery might as well presume to occupy the judge's seat. But all blamed the advisers of King George, who, knowing before the conference met the position Greece would occupy therein, waited until the meeting to have her representative make his confusing protest.

The plenipotentiaries pursued their work without the presence of the Grecian representative, and it immediately became apparent that they disavowed any authority over the disputants, relying solely on the moral and political influence of the states they represented. The powers might endorse the Turkish ultimatum, but if they did not, it would make no

change in the course of Turkey. They might formally declare that Greece was indisputably in the wrong, but as they were not prepared to say that Athens might be occupied by the Turk, Greece would not mend her ways.

On Saturday, January 16th, the conference, according to the Paris *Constitutionnel*, really closed its labors, and *La France* gives the text of the declaration of the plenipotentiaries, whose deliberation had been confined to the five points of the Turkish ultimatum. That declaration states that Turkey had ground to complain of a manifest violation of international law on the part of Greece, and that whatever might be her laws at home she was not to permit attacks against a neighboring state to be prepared on her territory. That her obligation is to prevent the arming in her ports of privateers like the Crete and Enosis. That she has no right to oppose the departure from her domain of Cretan refugees. On the fourth point of the ultimatum, Turkey having agreed to be governed by the decisions of the legal tribunals, and the fifth point being comprised in the other three, the declaration of the conference perfectly sustained the Turkish ultimatum. Turkey, in case Greece accepted the declaration, was to withdraw her ultimatum.

Greece was admonished by all the great powers, Russia included, that she had alienated from herself the sympathies of Europe by her course toward Turkey, and that in case of rupture she must provide for herself—for the powers among themselves gave sureties of good behavior one to another. The joint note of the conference thus became an express warning to the cabinet of King George, or was so considered by the public, that Turkey in executing reprisals, in the event of Greece refusing to adhere to the protocol of the conference, would be carrying out the deliberate judgment of Europe.

ART. III.—1. *Oeuvres Complètes de P. J. de BERANGER.* 2 vols.
Paris. 1847.

2. *Ma Biographie : Ouvrage Posthume de P. J. de BERANGER.*
Paris. 1857.

3. *Songs of Béranger.* Translated by the author of the *Exiles of Idria.* London. 1837.

MUCH has been written, and little apparently understood, about following nature in literary and other art. The examples of Homer and Shakespeare are appealed to, and those writers of the *renaissance* school in Germany and elsewhere headed by Goëthe. Nature, human and otherwise, has many manifestations, some poetical and others not. The Pre-Raphaelitism which would depict a toad or a cabbage-garden while neglecting the most beautiful landscape within view, is certainly not such an adherence to nature as to be entitled to our admiration. Yet the toad is fabled to have a jewel in its head, which is a poetical idea, and there is much in the habits and aspects of the animal which may suggest poetical thoughts. In treating of cabbages, it would not be necessary to allude to sauerkraut and cole-slaw; the growth of the vegetable, fed by the sunshine and the rain, and the human care and interest bestowed upon it, are themes worthy of song. In art, as in everything else, it is requisite to be true. Art deals not only with the higher truths, but with all that contain the element of beauty. This beauty doubtless resides, to a greater or less degree, in all things; yet it is not every poet who can make us perceive it in every object. Some things we are so accustomed to regard as unlovely that it is not safe for the poet to allude to them, because of the associations which we invariably attach to those objects. Yet, really, there is no distinction of truths for purposes of art. As God is one, so is his emanation, which is beauty, the same everywhere. Some objects and conditions have more of this radiance than others. What constitutes the artist is the power to perceive and to depict real beauty. It is generally easier for him to understand and to represent the

soul of the simpler existences. If he knows the limitations of his genius, he will not attempt to deal with what is beyond his comprehension.

Béranger thus understood his genius, and his success was due to that knowledge, and to his honesty in accepting and acting upon it. He wrote from within, reproducing the impressions made upon him by external objects and by his own experiences. So far he was true, and his poems are real. He might have succeeded in fictitious representations of ideal passion, but he would not attempt it. It is here that he showed his strength and his greatness. We always think of him as following Molière's rule of judging of the excellency of his works, not by submitting them to a learned critic, but noting their effect when read to his illiterate old female attendant. Béranger, as well as Molière, knew that the scholar would compare the work submitted to his critical judgment with conventional standards of excellency with which he was already acquainted, and they knew that such a taste, formed by study, is quite likely to be vitiated. For a reliable standard they rightly judged that they could confidently appeal to the native instincts of untaught and unperverted humanity. Béranger is and will be a model for the study of those who wish to learn how to deal with things truthfully—to be genuine artists.

He is not a Shakespeare nor a Goethe, but he is as real in his department as either of those great singers. In an interview with the public censor which Béranger has recorded,* that official is reported as saying to him that "song-writers are in literature what fiddlers are in music." This characterization of the *chansonnier* the poet accepts and defends. We may properly consider him from the point of view which he has deliberately selected. We may picture to ourselves the modest violinist taking his place at the street-corner, hoping that his simple strains may please the common people, and draw from them the hearty applause which is all he covets. At first only the poor and uneducated slowly collect; then the more aristocratic and cultivated pause, compelled to listen to the

* *Oeuvres*, t. ii. p. 342.

ravishing melody. The crowd increases, and is joined by the rich and the noble, until the vicinage is thronged with people of all descriptions and stations, and even kings and emperors are pleased to mingle with the others, and to shower praises and presents upon the unpretending musician. The delight which all feel and exhibit proves that in the innate feelings of the heart the whole world are of kin.

It was not until he had reached middle life that Béranger gained the title of poet. For this recognition of his just claims he acknowledges himself first indebted to the Edinburgh Review. In France, previous to Béranger's day, a song-writer was not reckoned as a poet; but it is his proud distinction that his genius changed all that.

Béranger loved his fellows, and it was this love that fitted him to appreciate them, and in his turn to be appreciated by them. The service he has rendered to humanity has been very great. He was not a reformer, as that term is usually applied. He did not attempt to give the people new light, but to make them respect what was in them. His standard of morals was not on the plane with ours, but we must take into account, in our estimate of him, the influence of the circumstances in which he was placed.

Pierre-Jean de Béranger was born at Paris, in 1780. Regarding the use of the feudal particle *de*, he seems to think it necessary to make many apologies. In his autobiography he tells us that it was bestowed upon him by his father, who claimed noble descent,* and that he did not use it until some bad verses signed *M. Bérenger* had been attributed to him, when he adopted the particle as a measure of self-defence.

His father, at the time of marriage, was book-keeper to a grocer; his mother followed the trade of *modiste*. At the house of his maternal grandfather, a tailor, "in one of the dirtiest quarters of Paris," was the poet born. Neither of his parents appears to have paid much attention to him in his early years, or to have done much for him. For his mother he could not have had much affection, and he says of her, "Buffon a dit que les garçons tiennent de leur mère. Jamais enfant

* "Je dois dire, pour sa justification, que c'était la manie des chefs de la famille."—*Ma Biographie*, p. 13.

n'a moins ressemblé que moi à la mienne, au moral comme au physique."* The two spouses separated after six months of not very pleasant matrimonial life. The yet unfledged songster remained until the age of nine years in the care of his grandfather. He was sent to school in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and from the roof he witnessed the taking of the Bastile, which event, he declares, embraced almost all the instruction he received there. He was fortunately absent from Paris during the Reign of Terror; but in 1789, he and his aunt, walking together, suddenly found themselves in the midst of a crowd of men and women carrying on long pikes the heads of the *gardes du corps* massacred at Versailles. This was enough of scenes of horror for his sensitive nature. Making due allowance for his native and national vivacity, we could hardly hope that, witnessing much more of the horrible events of those days, the susceptible poet could ever have developed into the gay and light-hearted singer he became.

Soon afterward he left Paris for Peronne, in Picardy, to be placed in the care of his father's maiden sister, who kept a small inn at that place. His aunt at first refused to take him, but, looking upon his childish face, her heart was aroused in his behalf, and, bursting into tears, she promised to be a mother to him. She kept her word, and seems to have given him nearly all the love his childish years ever knew. Béranger ever remembered this excellent woman with most affectionate gratitude, and, after her death, dictated for her the following epitaph: "She never was a mother, yet she left children to weep for her." With her he passed several years of the developing period of his life. She assisted to inspire him with a taste for reading, and with her he read *Télémaque*, Racine, and Voltaire. This aunt was an ardent republican, but withal something of a devotee, and the young satirist did not forbear to ridicule some of her favorite points of faith. At the age of twelve years, during a violent storm, the pious lady sprinkled the house with holy water. A flash of lightning prostrated the young Béranger, who, on recovering, immediately said to his aunt, "Well, of what

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 38.

use was your holy water?" He had very little inclination for school, and says he does not know when he learned to read. He never had any knowledge of Greek or Latin; his acquaintance with the ancient classics was derived from translations. This ignorance he confessed to Lucien Bonaparte with some humiliation.* Yet from a careful study of the best translations within his reach, he was able to get the spirit of the best of the ancient writers.

He had desired to learn the trade of clockmaker, but his sight was so much injured that he was obliged to give it up, greatly to his regret. He tried as apprentice to a jeweler, and served for awhile in the office of a notary. At the age of fourteen years he became apprentice to a printer. It was here that he got the most of his knowledge of orthography and grammar. His master, M. Laisney, gave him valuable instructions in versification. To this excellent man Béranger afterward made the acknowledgment:

"*Dans l'art des vers c'est toi qui fut mon maître.*"

There was at Peronne a school named the Institut Patriotique, organized upon the system of J. J. Rousseau. This school Béranger attended, and here, it would seem, he acquired the greater part of his book-knowledge. Besides history and geography, he learned to declaim in the club, and had the benefit of criticisms upon his literary attempts. His parents becoming reunited, he returned to Paris, where father and son engaged together in financial speculations. As a financier the young Béranger seems, from his own account, to have developed considerable talents. He acquired quite a fortune, which was lost in the crisis of 1798.

It was at this time that he turned his attention particularly to poetry, and studied it as an art. He labored assiduously to form a poetic system which he says, "I have doubtless since perfected, but which has scarcely varied at all in any of its principal rules." † Certain friendly capitalists had offered to

* "Jamaïs il ne m'avait tant coûté de dire que je ne savais pas le latin, cette langue dont je croyais, avec tout le monde alors, qu'on ne pouvait se passer pour rien écrire en français."—*Ma Biographie*, p. 89.

† *Ib.* p. 66.

reëstablish him in business, but he preferred to remain poor rather than return to the Bourse. He was now very poor, but he found great comfort in devoting himself with all the ardor of his nature to the cultivation of the poetic art. Yet he suffered much. "I gave myself up," he says, "to fits of melancholy, so much the more painful that I was no less expansive in my sorrows than I have always been in my pleasures." He attempted dramatic writing, but soon decided that his talents did not fit him for success in this field; he congratulates himself upon this conclusion with his usual willingness to know and to accept the truth of himself. He designed an epic entitled "Clovis," upon a grand scale, which he proposed to meditate upon until the age of thirty years before commencing to write it. He wrote also some solemn Alexandrines upon such subjects as "The Deluge," "The Last Judgment," and "Meditation." At the age of twenty-two years he wrote a poem in four cantos, entitled "Le Pèlerinage," an attempt to represent the simple pastoral customs of the Christians of the sixteenth century. But he decided that his genius did not lie in the direction of epic or pastoral poetry. It was only as a song-writer—as one of the fiddlers of the literary orchestra—that he could hope to succeed. To the specious temptations of journalism he never yielded.*

About this time Béranger gave much attention to the works of Chateaubriand, which inspired him with great enthusiasm. At one time he became so discouraged with his poverty and his want of success that he seriously proposed to join Bonaparte in Egypt. A friend dissuaded him from this project, and his native gayety and his muse rescued him from melancholy. He abandoned himself to love, wine, and song, celebrating the praises of Lisette and Frétillon, of "Roger Bontemps," "Le Grenier," "Les Gueux," and "Le Vieil Habit." Then, as afterward, he would often sing:

* "Il eût voulu me voire écrire dans les journaux ; mais je ne me sentis jamais de vocation pour ce genre de travail, qui a fini chez nous par dévorant de jeunes talents, nés peut-être pour un avenir de gloire, et qui d'ailleurs effrayait ma plume paresseuse et ma conscience timorée. Pour m'adonner à une pareille profession, il eût fallu renoncer à mes belles espérances poétiques, à mes rêves c'eût été rendre ma mansarde bien solitaire."—*Ma Biographie*, p. 93.

"Chantons le vin et le beauté,
Tout le reste est folie." *

In deliberate prose he could say of the same period of his life :

"Oh ! que la jeunesse est une belle chose, puisqu'elle peut répandre du charme jusque sur la vieillesse, cet âge si déshérité et si pauvre ! Employez bien ce qui vous en reste, ma chère amie. Aimez, et laissez-vous aimer. J'ai bien connu ce bonheur; c'est le plus grand de la vie." †

The poetic system which Béranger was now laboring to develop, and to which he devoted all the resources of his active mind, was founded upon eternal principles of art. For this reason it was not required of him afterward to change but only to perfect it.‡ He says of his inspiration "*Le peuple: c'est ma muse;*" he explains by declaring, "When I say people, I mean the crowd—the common people, if you will."§ In taking his inspiration from the heart of the common people, he appealed to those qualities which are inherent in all. From his circumstances, while his poetical style and philosophy were forming, he had little opportunity to study any of the higher classes. It was perhaps best for him that it was so. Certainly he could get a better knowledge of human nature, and more easily learn how to deal with it, from those who are comparatively untaught, and consequently more simple and truthful. The same emotions exist in all, and the general instincts of human nature are everywhere similar. Yet Béranger's studies of humanity were not confined to the common people; he always studied men, and wherever he could find them. He is the poet of humanity in its social aspects. His love of rural nature was well developed, but it seems not to have been a passion with him. He did not attempt a pretentious style of verse, and for attempting so little and doing what he did undertake so thoroughly, he was rewarded eventually with a share of fame which few have ever obtained during life. He says, "I have

* *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 362.

† Notice prefixed to the *Oeuvres Complètes* of Béranger, édition of 1834.

‡ "Les rêves poétiques les plus ambitieux ont berçé ma jeunesse. Il n'est presque point de genre élevé que je n'aie tenté en silence. Pour remplir une immense carrière à vingt ans, dépourvu d'études, même de celle du latin, j'ai cherché à pénétrer le génie de notre langue et les secrets du style."—*Oeuvres*, t. i. p. xv.

§ Préface, 1833.

only taken what others have rejected ;" and further, "I espoused the poor *fille de joie* with the intention of rendering her worthy to be presented in the saloons of our aristocracy ; without, however, forcing her to renounce her former relations, for it was necessary that she should remain a daughter of the people from whom she expected her dowry." * This stone, rejected by other builders of rhymes, has become an important and attractive portion of the poetical arch of the century. Ugly and even foul as it appeared to others when lying in the mud of the streets, Béranger discerned its hidden worth, and knew that it only needed cleaning and polishing to be recognized by all as a gem of value.

The early poems of Béranger, which first gave him a name, are not among the best of his works, but, like the youthful publications of Schiller and Goethe—the "Robbers" and the "Sorrows of Werther"—they will always, probably, be among the most popular with the masses. The subjects of these poems and their style of treatment were such as to appeal directly to the heart of the common people of France. Their gay humor is charming. "Le Petit Homme Gris" is a good specimen :

" Il est un petit homme
Tout habillé de gris,
[Dans Paris.
Joufflu comme une pomme,
Qui, sans un sous comptant,
Vit content,
Et dit : 'Moi, je m'en ;'
Et dit : 'Moi, je m'en ;
Ma fois, moi, je m'en ris !'
Oh ! qu'il est gai le petit homme gris!" †

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 188.

† " There is a little man
All dressed in gray,
He lives in Paris,
And he's always gay ;
He's round as an apple
And plump as a pear ;
He has not a penny,
And he has not a care ;
And he says, ' I laugh,
And I laugh, and my plan,'
Says he, ' Is, by jingo,
To laugh all I can,'
Oh ! what a merry little fat gray man."

Oeuvres, t. i. p. 26.

Similar in style is "Les Gueux." To render attractive persons in the poorest outward circumstances, it is required that they be invested with a merry humor, and treated in a careless and rollicking manner. Burns recognized this fact, and illustrated it in his "Jolly Beggars." To Béranger this style of treatment was quite natural.

"Les gueux, les gueux,
Sont les gens heureux ;
Ils s'aiment entre eux,
Vivent les gueux !
Des gueux chantons la louange.
Que de gueux hommes de bien !
Il faut qu'enfin l'esprit venge
L'honnête homme qui n'a rien."*

His two poems "Le Roi d'Yvetot" and "Le Senateur" are the earliest specimens we have of his political satire—a species of writing which afterward added greatly to his reputation and to his troubles. In 1809, Béranger was appointed to a place in one of the bureaux of the Imperial University, with a salary of one thousand francs a year. This place he retained twelve years. He tells us that his reputation began in 1813, at which time he was admitted into the literary circle of the "Caveau," of which he was soon reckoned one of the choicest spirits. From that period his fame steadily increased until the close of his life, and long before he

"Heard the heavens fill with shoutings"

of his name. At this epoch also he began to be admitted into the higher ranks of society. But the temptations of his position, and the flatteries of the great did not spoil him, for he ever retained his *naïve* simplicity, and his sympathy with the common people. Had his reputation been acquired at an earlier age, it might have been different. Though his father was a stanch royalist, he had early embraced republicanism, and adhered to his sentiments with firmness and sustained them with ardor. On the restoration of the Bourbons, tempting offers were made to him to support legitimacy, but his reply was, "Let them give us liberty in exchange for glory; let them

* *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 42.

render France happy, and I will sing to them without reward."* Lucien Bonaparte had early befriended and encouraged him, and had procured him the pension which he received from the institute. After the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty, Béranger gave up this pension to the father of Madame Lucien Bonaparte.

His first volume of poems was published in 1815. The result of this was to establish him as the song-writer of the opposition. In 1821, he published two volumes of songs, old and new. This issue comprised ten thousand five hundred copies, and was made on his own account. The sale exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and the result placed him in very comfortable pecuniary circumstances. For this publication he was prosecuted by government and sentenced to an imprisonment of three months and a fine of five hundred francs. He passed his time in his prison of Sainte Pelagie very gayly, he tells us, and here composed some of his best pieces. The progress of his trial was marked by several effusions, one of which is "La Muse en Fuite :"

"Quittez la lyre, ô, ma muse !
Et déchiffrez ce mandat,
Vous voyez qu'on vous accuse
De plusieurs crimes d'état.
Pour un interrogatoire
Au palais comparaissions
Plus de chansons pour la gloire !
Pour l'amour plus de chansons !
Suivez-moi !
C'est la loi,
Suivez-moi de par le Roi."†

His third publication was made in 1825, and his fourth in 1828. The latter subjected him to a fresh prosecution, which resulted in a sentence to nine months' imprisonment and ten thousand francs fine. Prison life, he says, had a charm for him, which was certainly fortunate. He suffered somewhat, he admits, during the first four months of

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 177.

† *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 14.

his imprisonment at La Force, but his muse afterward rescued him from gloom. He received many grateful attentions here, being visited by Victor Hugo, Sainte-Beuve, and Alexandre Dumas. His last volume of poems was published in 1833.

The subjects of Béranger's poems are generally such as appeal to the heart of the common people. Of love he sings much, and usually according to the taste of his auditors.

“ Dieu lui-même
Ordonne qu'on aime,
Je vous le dis, en vérité :
Sauvez-vous par la charité.”*

He is not always so delicate as the standard of the present age requires, and finds it necessary to apologize in his first volume for following “the rather cynical licenses of our old literature.” Yet he seems to have sung of love, as of other human emotions, from his sympathies with others, rather than from any selfish passion. He was certainly not an ideal lover in person. He became quite bald at the age of twenty-three, and says of himself, “ Ill-favored, and of mean appearance, I have never been in circumstances to expend much on women.” He makes much sport at the expense of his baldness, and has a poem entitled “ Mes Cheveux.”

“ Mes bons amis, que je vous prêche à table,
Moi l'apôtre de la gaieté !
Opposez tous au destin peu traitable
Le repos et la liberté :
A la grandeur, à la richesse,
Préferez des loisirs heureux,
C'est mon avis, moi de qui la sagesse
A fait tomber tous les cheveux.”†

The early loss of his hair was not, however, an altogether uncompensated misfortune. In 1801, dwelling in a garret in the Rue Saint Martin, he tells us he found it not difficult to support life on bread and cheese, notwithstanding

* “ *Les Deux Sœurs de Charité*,” *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 191.
† *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 41.

ing the violence of his appetite. But how to escape the conscription, whose officers were everywhere active? To accomplish this he found it only necessary to take off his hat to the officers, who readily believed him to be a man of forty-five years, and who, consequently, never thought of asking to look at his papers.* His love-poems are doubtless mostly imaginary. Lisette, the subject of so many of his songs, was a mythical personage, borrowed from the literature of the eighteenth century. Yet he had a heart for all the emotions of which he sings, and we readily believe him when he says, "Mes chansons, c'est moi."† Regarding his feelings toward the fair sex, a passage in *Ma Biographie* shows the poet in a very amiable light, and gives us a high opinion of him:

"La tendresse pleine d'estime que ce sexe m'a inspirée dès ma jeunesse n'a cessé, d'être la source de mes plus douces consolations. Ainsi j'ai triomphé d'une secrète disposition à l'humeur noire, dont les retours devinrent de moins en moins fréquents, grâce aux femmes et à la poésie. Il me suffirait de dire grâce aux femmes, car la poésie me vient d'elles."—P. 76.

After reading this tribute and acknowledgment, we are sure no charitable woman will scorn Béranger, however much she may be shocked at the freedom of some of his songs. Not many of his love-songs exhibit a very refined sentiment, but some of them are tender and sweet. The passion of love was very ardent with him, as we may judge from such poems as "Frétillon," "Beaucoup d'Amour," "Quelle est Jolie," and "Rosette."

"Ah! que ne puis-je vous aime,
Comme autrefois j'aimais Rosette."‡

Late in life he often sang his regrets that the days of love were past. Yet again, in "Encore des Amours," he sings:

"Ah! c'est encore quelque beauté traitresse ;
Tous les amours ne sont pas envolés."

A lovely picture is that of "Claire," and worthy of any

* *Ma Biographie*, pp. 84, 85.

† Préface, 1833.

‡ *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 315.

§ *Ib.* t. ii. p. 167.

poet. The pleasures of love and wine are generally associated by light natures, and Béranger had not the loftier soul or the correct training to spurn this union, as is illustrated in his song, "Le Printemps et l'Automne:"

"Deux saisons règlent toutes choses
 Pour qui sait vivre en s'amusant ;
 Au printemps nous devons les roses,
 A l'automne un jus bienfaisant.
 Les jours croissent ; le cœur s'eveille ;
 On fait le vin quand ils sont courts.
 Au printemps, adieu la bouteille !
 En automne, adieu les amours!"*

Béranger's sparkling wit and rollicking gayety contributed principally to his popularity among a people where such qualities are highly esteemed. His satire is biting, yet not malicious. He scatters his bolts of wit and sarcasm right and left, yet in a playful manner, and seems never to desire to injure any one, only to excite a laugh. Yet he as well as his victims sometimes discovered that this playing with fire is dangerous. His charitable nature led him oftener to indulge in a gay humor than in wit or sarcasm, and in this province he is always delightful. He was ever observing objects that excited his laughter, and he represented their comic aspects so as to make others perceive them and laugh with him. In his gay moods he resembled his "Roger Bontemps;"

"Aux gens atrabilaires
 Pour exemple donné,
 En un temps de misères
 Roger Bontemps est né,"†

His pictures of Bohemian life are admirable. Some of them are only too true to nature, but he makes us sympathize with his characters. Mürger's "Scenes of Bohemian Life" contains

* "Two seasons of all things dispose,
 For those who know life's real use ;
 We're indebted to spring for the rose,
 And to autumn for grapes and their juice.
 The short days the wine-season bring ;
 As they lengthen our hearts wake and move.
 Adieu to the bottle in spring,
 And farewell in autumn to love!"—*Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 22.

† *Ib. t. i. p. 12.*

many such pictures as Béranger's "Le Grenier," but nothing more truthful. Another illustration of this kind of life is given in "Les Cinquante Ecus." The ills of sublunary existence, of which it would seem that he had more than his share, touched him but lightly.

" Ma gaieté s'en est allée ;
Sage ou fou qui la rendra ?
A me pauvre âme isolée
Dieu l'en récompensera."^{*}

To so kindly and genial a disposition tears are as native as laughter. Béranger often makes us weep for those whom, but for his influence, we should perhaps have passed by with indifference or scorn. For specimens of pathos, and as showing his sympathy with all misfortune, take "La Bonne Vieille," "Le Violin Brisé," "La Pauvre Femme," and "Jacques." Of a somewhat different kind, but equally humane, are "Le Vieux Vagabond" and "Le Juif Errant." Béranger's muse did not scorn the lowest human subject, and she invests all with a peculiar charm. His pictures of common characters are such as will long live in the memory of the reader. Such are "Le Maitre d'Ecole," "Le Vieux Ménétrier," "Paillasse," "L'Aveugle de Bagnolet," and "Le Bon Vieillard." In such poems as "Le Vieux Drapeau," "Le Vieux Sergent," "Les Deux Grenadiers," and "Le Vieux Caporal," he touched a chord in the heart of every true Frenchman. His love of military glory and his patriotism find free expression in his songs. The two occupations of Paris by the allies called forth some bitter satires. Yet even here he sees the comic aspects of things, and gives "L'Opinion de ces Demoiselles" respecting the occupation subsequent to the Hundred Days.

"Viv' nos amis !
Nos amis les enn'mis!"†

There is an occasional burst of a wild spirit of adventure and enthusiasm for a life in strange and unusual circumstances, as in "Les Bohemians," "Les Contrabandiers," and "Le Chant du Cosaque." Quite as imaginative, but less weird and

* *Oeuvres*, t. ii. p. 11.

† *Ib.* t. i. p. 171.

outré, are “La Voyage Imaginaire,” “Le Tailleur et la Fée,” “La Petite Fée,” and “La Métempyschose.” For specimens of playful satire we have “Les Marionnettes” and “Les Infine-ments Petits.”

Béranger was always poking fun at the priests, as in “Les Capucins” and “Mon Curé.” Even the Pope does not escape, for we have “Le Bon Pape,” “Le Fils du Pape,” “Le Mariage du Pape,” and “La Mort du Diable.”

“Dieu sera plus grand que le pape,
Le diable est mort, le diable est mort.”*

Yet his satire did not prevent the Catholic clergy of France, to their honor be it mentioned, from rendering ample justice to the merits of the poet and the man. In 1849, the Archbishop of Paris, accompanied by one of his vicars-general and by the Curé of Passy, visited Béranger in his modest retreat, to pay his respects to the brilliant star of French literature.

The poet at one time shared in his countrymen’s hatred of the English, and can be excused for a fling at them after the entry into Paris, in 1814 :

“Quoique leur chapeaux soient bien laid,
God dam! moi, j’aime les Anglais ;
Ils ont un si bon caractère !
Comme ils sont polis ! et surtout
Que leurs plaisirs sont de bon goût!”†

His love of humanity often rose into a noble, statesmanlike enthusiasm for the rights of men as peoples and as nations. He sings much of liberty, and his hymn, “La Sainte Alliance du Peuples,” is a grand lyric of humanity. Béranger assures us that he greatly loves the woods and fields; yet he does not in his poems show an intimate acquaintance with nature. He seldom represents still life, but his rural pictures are generally associated with human interests and actions, as in “Les Vendages.” The birds are especially dear to his heart, as we can well understand, for his nature was quite similar to theirs. His love and appreciation of them are exhibited in “Les Ros-signols,” “Les Hirondelles,” and other poems. He sometimes

* *Oeuvres*, t. ii. p. 169.

† *Ib.* t. i. p. 102.

looks on the serious side of life and considers it thoughtfully, as in "Le Jour des Morts." In "L'Orage" the disposition to be gay when one can, in spite of adverse and threatening circumstances, is well exhibited :

"Chers enfants, dansez, dansez !
Votre âge
Echappe à l'orage ;
Par l'espérance gaiement bercés.
Danzez, chantez, dansez!"*

Popular superstitions he respects, and employs where he can render them poetical, as in "Les Etoiles qui Filent." His delight in song is well expressed in his poem entitled "Ma Vocation :"

"Jeté sur cette boule,
Laid, chétif, et souffrant :
Etouffé dans la foule,
Faute d'être assez grand ;
Un plainte touchante
De ma bouche sortif :
Le bon Dieu me dit: Chante,
Chante, pauvre petit!"†

It is next to impossible to transfuse the spirit of Béranger into a foreign language. As well undertake to preserve the foam, and sparkle, and aroma of the richest champagne when turning that liquor into brandy, as to render our poet's best songs into anything like literal English. The English translator of Béranger must accept this proposition : given a poem in one language which produces a certain effect, to write a poem in another language which shall produce the same or a similar effect. To accomplish this the movement in the two languages must often be quite different. No one but a person of fine poetical instincts and thoroughly practised in the

* *Oeuvres*, t. i. p. 369.

† "Squalid, faint, and suffering, hurled
Up and down this wheeling world ;
Crushed among the crowds of men,
Myself too weak to press again ;
I breathed a deep and bitter sigh,
That spoke my spirit's misery ;
Some God that heard suggested, 'Sing,
And song shall consolation bring.' — *Ib.* t. i. p. 183.

versifying art can properly translate Béranger; consequently we have few good renderings of his lyrics—few that give us their spirit, which is as evanescent as the morning dew. That eccentric but delightful genius, "Father Prout," was well fitted to appreciate Béranger, and has given us some excellent translations of his lyrics. As a specimen, we give a stanza or two from

THE GARRET.

"Oh! it was here that love his gifts bestowed
 On youth's wild age!
 Gladly once more I seek my youth's abode
 In pilgrimage.
 Here my young mistress, with her poet, dared
 Reckless to dwell;
 She was sixteen, I twenty, and we shared
 This attic cell."

"Yes, 'twas a garret! be it known to all,
 Here was love's shrine:
 There read, in charcoal traced along the wall,
 The unfinished line.
 Here was the board where kindred hearts would blend:
 The Jew can tell
 How oft I pawned my watch, to feast a friend
 In attic cell!

"Oh! my Lisette's fair form could I recall
 With fairy wand,
 There she would blind the window with her shawl—
 Bashful, yet fond!
 What though from whom she got her dress I've since
 Learned but too well?
 Still, in those days, I envied not a prince,
 In attic cell!"

Another piece, much admired in the original, but by no means so attractive in its English dress, is "The Shooting-Stars," from which, however, we can only snatch a fragment:

"Shepherd, thou sayest our earthly doom
 Obeys some star's mysterious power?"
 "Yes, my fair child, but night's deep gloom
 Veils from our eyes the destined hour."
 "Shepherd, thou readest the stars aright,
 Hast tracked each planet's wandering way;

Say, what betides yon falling light,
Which shoots and shoots, and fades away?

" 'My child, some mortal breathes his last;
His star shoots downward from its sphere:
That being's latest hours were past
Mid jovial friends and festive cheer.
All reckless sped his summoned sprite
While flushed in evening sleep he lay—
See! yet another fleeting light,
Which shoots and shoots, and fades away.' "

Béranger's style is remarkably pure and simple. There are no forced expressions, no attempts at grandiloquence—hardly a useless epithet. It is said that he acquired much of his simplicity of style and purity of diction from a careful study of the Greek and Roman classics in translations. He composed in general very laboriously, and was assiduous in correcting and polishing his pieces. He says that he never wrote more than fifteen or sixteen songs in a year. Some of these would be written in two or three hours, but the majority were the product of much patient labor.

Béranger is a social poet. All the moods of ordinary humanity are his; but the highest aspirations of the soul and the profoundest feelings of the heart do not belong to him. Yet who can help loving the vivacious, genial, sympathetic, earnest-hearted Frenchman? We take him to our hearts, but there are depths in it which he does not fathom; we admire him, but do not bow in adoration as in the presence of the loftiest spirits. Concerning the deepest social problems he gives us no new light. He considered human manifestations mostly in their external aspects, not attempting to understand or to reach the main-springs of feeling and action. He belonged to the period of childhood and youth in poetry; its manhood and ripe age have few representatives. It is well to set the ages of infancy right before attempting to deal with maturity, and here Béranger did a great work.

To a high order of genius a certain reserve and dignity are native. It is very difficult to sensitive natures to display their inmost hearts to the gaze of the public. Yet to do this constitutes the highest order of literary excellence. A genius like

Shakespeare reveals himself in representing others. There is an imaginable order of excellence where the possessor shall have the finest and the deepest emotions and shall completely unveil them to the world without reserve or fiction. Such a poet we believe the world has not yet seen, nor, perhaps, is it worthy of it. In the poet's age of love and the Christian's millennium, all will so reveal themselves. Could some lofty-statured soul conquer self so far as to do this, he would greatly contribute to

"Lead up the golden year."

Béranger has little of this poetic dignity. Such as he is he gives himself to us unreservedly. Yet he is not one of the highest-statured for whose coming we look as for a new evangel. For what he was, of which he so frankly gives us the benefit, we owe him gratitude.

For the man Béranger we have even a higher admiration than for the poet. Among men, indeed, there have been few who so excite our esteem and love. His autobiography is a charming piece of writing, exhibiting the *naïve* simplicity of the man. He is sufficiently egotistical, but not at all too much so. He wishes us to know him as he is, and we are quite willing to take his account of himself and his motives. It would, indeed, be quite impossible to disbelieve a word he says of himself, which at all affects his character. We feel that he knows himself better than any one else could know him, and that he is thoroughly honest.

Béranger early became interested in politics, and watched the varied and momentous events of his day with the keenest interest. By nature a republican, he yet had considerable enthusiasm for Napoleon. Yet he early perceived the tendency of the Corsican's ambition, and refused to blindly follow him, thus showing his great superiority to the majority of his countrymen. "The patriotic love of country," he says, "was the great, I might almost say the only passion of my life."* He contributed to the Revolution of July, 1830, and showed his wonderful power of divination in a letter to Lucien Bonaparte

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 22.

in which he predicted the events that followed. His friends urged him to accept a place in the ministry. "What place shall I take?" he asked. That of Public Instruction was suggested. He feigned acquiescence, and declared that he should insist upon the adoption of his songs as a text-book in the schools for young ladies. The absurdity of the proposition was thus made apparent.*

Independence was one of Béranger's most marked characteristics. And this quality was not at all affected, nor does it seem to have been at any time assumed for the purpose of exciting admiration and receiving greater favors than those first declined. He respected himself, and compelled others to respect him. He was always content to be valued at his true worth, and preferred his own estimate to that of others regarding himself. This was true not only as respected his writings —wherein he had his reward—but, what was more extraordinary, he refused to be placed higher than what he thought proper in the social and political scale. During much of his youth and manhood he was very poor, and he learned to bear the yoke of poverty with contentment and dignity. It was doubtless fortunate that his reputation did not come sooner, as when he began to be courted his character and his sympathies were immovably fixed. "Thrown into the midst of the most opulent society," he says, "my poverty was the cause of no embarrassment to me, for it cost me no effort to say, 'I am poor.'"[†] And further, that, when first admitted into opulent society, "Already a man of experience, I kept fast hold of my cradle and the friends of my infancy. How often, also, after being present at sumptuous banquets, in the midst of new acquaintances, I have gone to dine the following day in a back shop or a garret, in order to retemper myself among the companions of my poverty!"[‡] He was always very fond of the society of young men, even in his ripe age, and declares that he learned more from them than they could do from him. He was much courted during his latter years by the distinguished and the powerful, yet not always successfully. Chateaubriand sought his acquaintance, yet never gained it. Lafayette had be-

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 246.

† *Ib.* p. 185.

‡ *Ib.* p. 127.

friended and wished to know him, yet he says he obeyed his instinct in not visiting "l'homme des deux mondes," whose glories he had so well sung. Talleyrand was very desirous to meet him: "Why do you not invite him to dinner?" one asked. "I am too great a lord to expose myself to a refusal," was the answer.* He steadily refused to go to court and be presented to Louis Philippe, though the monarch sought his acquaintance. He firmly declined to allow his friends to urge his admission into the French Academy, because, while recognizing the advantages which such a position would secure to him, he believed he should be out of place there. After much entreaty he consented to become a member of the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, in 1848, for which he received more than two hundred thousand suffrages, but offered his resignation soon afterward.

The latter years of Béranger's life were passed in opulence, among hosts of ardent friends, and in the enjoyment of a fame which is vouchsafed to few. He was satisfied with the reputation of the greatest song-writer of his age, and never attempted to succeed in other departments of literature. Having acquired sufficient fame, he rested content. His death took place in 1857. The government took charge of the obsequies, and the magnificent city of Paris

"Had seldom seen a costlier funeral."

This pomp was not of Béranger's seeking. Years before, in "Mon Tombeau," he had given his opinion upon the proposal of his friends to erect to his memory a costly tomb, and his sentiments did not change. We doubt not that, could he have had his way, he would gladly have directed the expense of his costly funeral to be given to the poor of Paris. Yet the government did well in honoring literature and humanity by thus glorifying the memory of the departed poet.

Béranger had written an epitaph for his muse when at Sainte Pelagie, and it is worthy of her:

"Venez tous, passants, venez lire
L'épitaphe que je me fait :

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 242.

J'ai chanté l'amoureux délire,
Le vin, la France et ses hauts faits.
J'ai plaint les peuples qu'on abuse ;
J'ai chansonné les gens du roi :
Béranger m'appelait sa muse.
Pauvres pécheurs priez pour moi !
Priez pour moi, priez pour moi !” *

Thiers called Béranger on his death-bed the Horace of France. The title was well bestowed and the parallel has been carried out in detail by French critics.

Béranger could say on his death-bed, “My life has been that of an honest man,” and we believe him. His standard was not the highest, but considering his education and surroundings, we have abundant reason for admiring the man. In no relation of life does he appear to have been false to his better nature. He had some enemies during life, but no one who could appreciate his warm sympathies could long feel resentment toward him. He always loved others better than himself. “*Le bonheur de l'humanité a été le songe de ma vie,*” † he declares, and we cannot doubt it.

It was his deep sympathy with humanity that made him a poet and secured his success. He did not attempt to reform mankind, but simply to please them. Yet his works have not been without their use in contributing to the progress of humanity.

What is needed to make men love each other is that they shall know each other better. The principal chords in all our hearts are tuned in unison; it is only our ignorance and distrust that prevent us from recognizing this fact. As soon as this harmony is perceived we learn to love each other. Christianity teaches us to act charitably from principle. Few however, are so enlightened, or so devoted to duty, as to act from this impulse. Man is by nature selfish, and only when he learns that love is the most enlightened selfishness will he act in accordance with its laws. We learn to repress our highest and finest emotions, and suffer accordingly. Let the flood-gates of our hearts once be opened, and we are astonished

* *Oeuvres*, t. ii. p. 33.

† *Preface*, 1833.

to learn what genuine enjoyment there is in human sympathy—how helping to bear the burdens of others makes our own lighter. To those who, like Béranger, assist to open those flood-gates of feeling—to the poets of humanity—we owe a debt of gratitude. Let us pay that debt, not because the poet needs it, but because it is good for us to do so. By our sympathies with them we shall be raised to a higher life.

ART. IV.—1. *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale durant les Siècles antérieurs à Christophe Colomb, écrite sur des documens originaux et entièrement inédits, puisés aux anciennes archives des indigènes.* Par M. l'Abbé BRASSEUR de BOURBOURG, ancien aumonier de la Legation de France au Mexique, et administrateur ecclésiastique des Indiens de Rabinal (Guatemala.) Paris: Arthur Bertrand. 1857.

2. *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City discovered near Palenquè, in the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America.* Translated from the original report of Don Antonio del Rio; followed by a critical investigation and research into the history of the Americans, by Dr. PAUL FELIX CABRERA. London. 1822.

3. *Mémoire sur l'Ecriture figurative et la Peinture didactique des anciens Mexicains.* Par M. AUBIN. Paris. 1849.

4. *The History of Mexico, collected from Spanish and Mexican historians: to which are added critical dissertations on the land, animals, and inhabitants of Mexico.* By the Abbé D. FRANCISCO SEVERIO CLAVIGERO. Translated from the Italian by Charles Cullen, Esq. 3 vols. Philadelphia. 1834.

UNTIL the recent researches of Messrs. Aubin and Brasseur de Bourbourg it had been generally believed that but little in the shape of a connected history of ancient Mexico and Central America existed. The unconnected, and not always impartial, accounts given by the Spanish historians of the nations subdued by Cortez and his successors have mainly contributed to this belief; and owing to the barbarous fanaticism of

Diego Landa, who destroyed all the native archives and records he could find, no connected history has been found of the long period which elapsed between the era of Zamna, (or Itzamal,) the early law-giver of Yucatan, and the foundation of the Toltec empire in Mexico. The attention of the Spanish historians was directed more to the religion and religious ceremonies which they found prevailing in Central America than to the early history of the people; and their works abound in descriptions of the magnificent temples, pyramids, monuments, and ruins of ancient cities, which filled them with astonishment. Las Casas, Clavigero, Lizana, Cogolludo, and other of these early Spanish writers seem to have fancied themselves in a land of magicians and powerful demons, and the zeal of the missionaries who followed in the footsteps of Cortez was proportionably excited to accomplish the expulsion of these evil spirits, and the extermination of idolatry among the natives. The military adventurers cared for nothing but gold and silver, and to the acquisition of the precious metals they sacrificed everything. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the antiquities and early history of Mexico should have been neglected.

It was reserved for the learning and enterprise of modern explorers to decipher the Mexican hieroglyphics and inscriptions, collect the scattered records of the past, and form them into a connected history. Foremost among these is the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who undertook the task in fulfilment of the grand object of his life. From early youth he had been fired with the idea of making as important discoveries among the relics of antiquity on this continent as Young, Champollion, Layard, Rawlinson, Hinckes, and others had made in Egypt and Assyria.* Circumstances at length opened the way for the accomplishment of his desires. Under the auspices of M. Levasseur, Minister Plenipotentiary of France in Mexico, he went to Central America, in 1848, as Almoner

* He says, in the introduction to his work, p. 111: "Un vague pressentiment me montra, dans le lointain, je ne sais quels voiles mystérieux, qu'un instinct secret me pensait à soulever, et entendant parler de Champollion, dont la renommée commençait à pénétrer même dans les collèges de la province, je me demandais vaguement si le continent occidental n'apporterait pas aussi un jour sa part dans le grand travail scientifique qui s'opérait en Europe."

of the French Legation. He visited the ruins of ancient temples and cities in Mexico, and was diligent in searching after native histories and the records of the old Spanish writers. He was so fortunate as to find many—a list of which he has given in the preface to his work above referred to.* With particular joy he records the finding of two ancient Mexican books, to which he gave the names of Codex Chimalpopoca and the Memorial of Culhuacan, and which he describes as most precious documents relating to Mexican chronology.†

The eminent archaeologist, M. Aubin, of Paris, who had collected a large number of manuscripts and histories relating to the antiquities of Mexico and Central America, visited those countries in 1830, and on his return to France published part of his researches in his *Mémoire sur l'Écriture figurative et la Peinture didactique des anciens Mexicains*. Brasseur de Bourbourg returned to Europe in 1832, and collated his researches with those of M. Aubin. He went back to Mexico in 1854, and visited Nicaragua and Guatemala, returning to Paris in 1856. In 1857 he published his great work, in which it is evident he had the assistance of M. Aubin; so that it may be considered their joint composition. They have most ingeniously made out not only a connected but a detailed history of the Mexicans; and if it be not altogether authentic it is at all events interesting. We gain from the perusal of it considerable light respecting this mysterious people.

That the original population of Central America and Mexico is of very high antiquity there can be little doubt. The traditions of the various nations by which these countries were peopled bear ample testimony to this. A still stronger argument is found in the number of languages spoken there at the time of their conquest by the Spaniards. Now, unless we suppose that by some miraculous operation these languages and dialects were brought suddenly into being, we can assign but two modes in which they could have come into existence; the one is by the immigration of foreigners, the other by the slow and gradual operation of the laws of Providence, which regulates the multiplication and distribution of the human race and the formation of languages.

* Introduction, pp. lxxiv—xci.

† Introduction, p. xiii.

With regard to the first, there is no record of any considerable or varied migration from the Old World into the New, which could have sufficed to produce these dialects; moreover, the spoken languages of Central America bear no resemblance to any that were used by the trading and colonizing nations of ancient Europe, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. It is however probable that enterprising individuals, of European origin, found their way across the Atlantic, being driven thither either by storms, or by currents, or by their own hardihood. From the Azores, or from the western coast of Africa, to Brazil, is not so very long a voyage; and there is the Gulf Stream to assist navigation in that direction, and to carry the sailor on to the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico. We believe that the famous law-givers of ancient Mexican history, Votan and Zamna, of whom we shall say more presently, came from Europe, or at all events from Cuba, or South-America. And we find a people called the Othomis, who inhabited Mexico before the Toltecs, speaking a monosyllabic language strongly resembling the Chinese: they called it the Hiang-hiung, which signifies "the permanent speech." Their own name—Ot-homi—signifies "never tranquil;" heaven they styled Ma-he-tzi; and God, O-kha, that is, "the holy remembrance."^{*} They shaved their head after the Chinese fashion, leaving a tuft or tail at the back; and some of their customs show their Mongolian origin. It may be reasonably inferred that at a very remote period some Chinese navigators found their way across the Pacific to the western shores of this continent; as it may also be supposed that the red men of Asia crossed Behring's Strait into Alaska, and became the progenitors of our red Indians; or *vice versa*, the population of Asia may have been derived from this continent. It is a remarkable fact that the Northmen, when they visited our eastern shores at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, met with an Irishman, who had lived many years among the natives, and was able to interpret their language; and they also

* De Bourbourg, *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, vol. i., p. 157.

were told that further south existed a white race of foreigners.* These must have found their way across the Atlantic at some remote period. Still, allowing for all possible immigration from European or Asiatic sources, there is not enough to account for the great variety of dialects found among the nations of Central America. We must therefore fall back on the second mode, namely, the slow and gradual operation of the laws of Providence ; and this at once carries us to remote antiquity, going back from the era of the Spanish conquest, (A.D. 1519-21.)

When the Spaniards invaded the continent, they found a great number of languages in use ; but some of them could be traced to a common origin. Thus Ximenes tells us that there was an idiom, called the Maya, from which he could distinctly derive more than thirteen languages.† So that the same laws which have regulated the derivation of the European and some of the Asiatic languages from the Indo-Germanic or Aryan stock, prevailed in Central America. We have no intention of entering into a discussion of the characteristics of these ancient Central American languages. It is sufficient for our purpose to adduce their existence as a proof of the remote antiquity of the people who spoke them ; we leave it to professional ethnologists, philologists, and grammarians to say within what period a language can be formed. We have the example of the English tongue before us ; and we know that it is the most modern of all languages, being the only one that has never been otherwise than Christian. We may say that it is not more than six hundred years old. But this would be only a portion of the truth, for it is mainly derived from a language which was spoken in the north of Germany a thousand years previously, and had its roots from another language which was spoken in the north of Hindustan three thousand years before that ! Thus more than four thousand years were required to form our mother tongue, which is purely a derivative one. How long a period was required to form the Sanscrit ? We think the ar-

* *Antiquitates Americanae.* Discovery of America in the tenth century, pp. xxxvii. Hafniae. 1837.

† *Tesoro de las Lenguas.*

gument based upon the number of languages is an unanswerable one.

Now let us turn to the traditions prevalent among the ancient inhabitants of Central America: these are sure indications of the character of the people and of the leading events of their history, which thus indelibly stamped themselves upon the national mind and memory, though the accounts we have of them may be mixed up with much that is fabulous and absurd, as is the case with the legendary history of Greece and Rome. Like all other countries of antiquity, Central America—by which name let it be understood that we include all that portion of the continent lying between Texas and the Isthmus of Panama—had its giants. This race of beings were called Quinamîës, and their dominion extended over Mexico and Guatemala. Whether they formed an organized community or were merely wandering savages of vast size and strength, living in caves and woods, we are not told; but they are described as having been a brutal race, addicted to the grossest vices; subsequently they became partly civilized by a race called Olmecs and Xicalancas, by whom they were finally exterminated at a solemn festival held on the plateau of Huitzilapan. A few escaped, but their descendants were destroyed by the Toltecs some centuries afterward. The only reminiscence of them left was the name of one of their divinities, Tlaloc, (or Tlalotl,) who had been one of their great kings.

We have a parallel to this tradition in the Greek myth of Saturn and the Titans, upon whom Jupiter made war successfully, finally casting them into Tartarus. The name Votan is another frequently met with, especially in the ancient traditions of the Tzendals, a race inhabiting Guatemala. According to them, Votan was a divine being who introduced civilization among their barbarous ancestors, and founded the cities of Palenquë, Paxil, and Cayala, and those famous temples and palaces whose magnificent ruins astonish the beholder at this day. There is good reason to suppose that this Votan was a real personage, who was by popular acclamation subsequently elevated to the rank of a God and made a mediator between the Supreme Being and man; but it is impossible to decide whether all the attributes and actions ascribed to him are his, or are due to

others. In the Quiché and the Mexican traditions we find similar powers and exploits attributed to demigods named respectively Cukulean and Gueumatz or Quetzalcohuatl: so that it is not improbable that these personages are identical with Votan. According to the Tzental tradition, the banks of the Tabasco and of the Usumacinta, two rivers flowing into the gulf of Mexico from the Cordilleras of Guatemala, were the scenes of the wondrous works of Votan. There he began his labors among the savage population of that land, of whom the Lacandons are the descendants. He taught them many arts, and founded the cities and built the edifices before mentioned. The tradition further says that he came originally from Cuba, with a number of his countrymen; that he first explored the thousand islands of the lagune of Terminos, and then ascended the Usumacinta to the foot of the Tumbala mountains, and there settled on its banks. On that spot he founded the city of Nachan, afterward called Palenquè. He was welcomed by the Tzentals and became their ruler.

If the tradition is to be further trusted, the art of navigation must have been more advanced at that early period than is commonly supposed; for we are told that he four times visited his native land, (Cuba.) He was not only a good sailor and explorer, as well as ruler and legislator, but he was an author and an antiquary, which is more than can be said of Saturn, Jupiter, or Hercules. He wrote a treatise on the origin of what we erroneously call the Indian race, and proved that it descended from Imos, of the race of Chan, that is, the serpent, and came originally from Chivim. That "the trail of the serpent is over us all," it needed not the poet Moore to inform us; but Votan went a step further and made out that these Indians were his (the serpent's) offspring: he may have meant this, however, merely as a bitter satire, but, as his treatise has not come down to us, we are unable to decide the point. Nevertheless, it is singular that the serpent should appear in the legend in conjunction with the Hebrew word *Chivim* or *Hivim*, (signifying "the wicked.") The Spanish historian Ordoñez* unhesitatingly says that

* *Historia del Cielo y de la Tierra.*

this *Chivim* is no other than the land of the Hivites, who were the children of Canaan, (Gen. x. 17.) Be that as it may, the acts of Votan as a ruler or conqueror bore permanent fruit. He divided his empire into four parts, one of which he gave to the foreign chieftains who accompanied him: their capital was Tulha, the ruins of which have been found near Oecocinco, on the other side of the Tumbala mountains. There is a further tradition in that part of the world that Votan caused a subterranean road of prodigious length to be made under these mountains in order to connect the temple of Tulha with that of Palenquè. As to the era of Votan there is nothing to guide us, but all tradition refers it to a very remote period. His descendants sank into insignificance, and after the lapse of several centuries succumbed to the Toltecs. The last of them, Chinax, was hanged and burned by the Toltec leader, about A.D. 687.

Contemporary with Votan was another great leader and law-giver, named Zamma, (or Itzaunal,) who arrived from some distant country in Yucatan, accompanied by a number of priests, warriors, and artists. There he founded a kingdom, and built the city of Mayapan for his capital. He divided his territory into provinces, which he granted as hereditary fiefs to the principal chiefs who accompanied him, but made them subordinate to the reigning prince of Mayapan. It is said that he introduced the use of figures or characters for letters. He died at an advanced age, and was buried at the place where subsequently arose the city Itzmal-Ul, or Itzamal. In subsequent ages he was held in equal veneration with Votan. And with these meagre particulars respecting him we are obliged to be content. Not all the researches of Aubin, De Bourbourg, Las Casas, Lizana, Gomara, Solis, Herrera, Clavigero, Juarres, Cabrera, Ordoñez, Garcia, and Cogolludo, have been sufficient to unearth any more of the long-buried past.

The same mystery envelops the history of the early inhabitants of this continent as that of Asia and Europe. The names of the families, tribes, or nations into which they were divided, and those of their principal chieftains and lawgivers, and of their cities, are all that has been handed down to us, and we are left to our own ingenuity and learning to make out of the Mexican hieroglyphics and local traditions a connected and intelligible

series of events. One of the most ancient of the Central American tribes was that of the Totonacs, who were contemporary with the Olmecs, the exterminators of the giants. This people claimed to have been the first who settled in the valley of Anahuac, and to have built the great pyramids of Teotihuacan. They came from Chicomoztoc, and some of them settled in Xalpan, others near Lake Xaltocan. The fact of their having a propensity for building pyramids and using hieroglyphics points to an Egyptian origin. Their first and greatest chieftain, who appears to have exercised the functions of a high priest as well as of a king, was Omeacatl. Their histories speak with emphasis of the length of his reign, of the order and civilization which he introduced among his subjects, and of the justice and peace [which they enjoyed under his government. They also make mention of a great famine which desolated all the provinces of his kingdom, and of a pestilence which followed the famine and destroyed multitudes of people. Omeacatl ceased reigning at a very advanced age. His death was a singular one; he entered a large oven heated by an adjoining furnace, and used as a vapor-bath and was never seen again. This mysterious disappearance was regarded as miraculous; but we, who are more prosaic, can imagine that he was overpowered by the heat and suffocated, and that his body was literally baked into an undistinguishable mass of mortal clay. We may, however, note here that this very ancient people appear to have known how to make furnaces and ovens, and to use vapor baths, which involves a previous knowledge of medicine, and of some of the handicrafts connected with iron and pottery; so that they could not have been an entirely barbarous race.

The Mexicans had a complete system of hieroglyphics, many of which have been deciphered, thanks to the labors of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, M. Aubin, and others. Had the ruins of their temples been less defaced by time and the ferocity of their Spanish destroyers, it might have been possible to obtain from the inscriptions on their walls and columns as complete an insight into their history as has been obtained into that of Egypt through the researches of Champollion and Dr. Young, and their successors, and into that of Assyria

through the labors of Rawlinson, Layard, and Hinckes. The distinguished French *savants* above mentioned also discovered many documents of the ancient Mexicans, consisting mostly of chronicles recording events and the dates of their occurrence. To these are sometimes added the remains of oral traditions or historic songs. It was the custom of the Mexicans to learn these by heart, and to recite them in public; they were taught in their schools and colleges for the training of orators. M. De Bourbourg gives several specimens of these songs or harangues: they are very flowery in their style, and are more in the nature of rhapsodies than historical compositions. As authorities for history we should not be inclined to place much value upon them. M. Aubin is of opinion that those harangues (or *tlatolli*) so frequently recited in modern times by the native Indians of Mexico, are the remains of these ancient orations; and that this origin is sufficiently indicated by extreme conformity to the literal language, the modern dialects of which seldom preserve more than a third of the words, and by the certainty that the dialogues are derived from ancient native compositions, dramatic or oratorical, adapted to Christian subjects by learned monks since the Spanish Conquest.*

Two leading facts are dwelt upon in the Mexican annals: the first is the arrival of a foreign race, coming from the East, and led by an illustrious personage; the second is the existence of an ancient empire known by the name of Huehne-Tlapal-lan, whence the ancestors of the Toltecs (or Nahuas) migrated in consequence of civil war, and after much suffering established themselves on the Aztec plateau. In Book 2, Chap. 2, of his elaborate work, M. De Bourbourg gives a detailed account of this foreign immigration from the East, founded on his interpretation of hieroglyphics and chronicles. That these details are anything more than subsequent adornments of an ancient tradition may well be doubted; but we think this much is clear and may be accepted as veritable history, namely, that, at a very remote period, a people called Quichés came from the northernmost part of Asia, (for their original habitation is described as a cold and icy region), and crossed a stormy sea

* De Bourbourg, *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, Introduction, p. xxxv.

to a region on the American continent not less inhospitable than the one they had quitted. This evidently points to a traversing of the strait since called Behring's, and to an emigration of some of the wild tribes who roam over the frozen plains of Siberia. When they landed in America they turned their steps southward in quest of a warmer climate and fertile lands. Their march was slow and painful ; they encountered terrible privations, but they pursued their journey in hopes of reaching a mystic spot called Teotihuacan, (the abode of God,) and their chiefs vowed that if they ever arrived there they would sacrifice one of their number to the Gods. Their leader was Quetzalcohuatl or Guenmeatz, who was afterward worshipped as their tutelar deity. Under his guidance they arrived in Tamoanchan, where he founded the city of Xicalaneo, which became one of the most flourishing cities in Central America. He extended his influence into the neighboring empire of Xibalba or Palenquè, and attempted to conquer it, but failed.

There are sundry incongruities in this statement. What, for example, should a race of wandering Samoieds or Tchuktchi know about warm climates and fertile lands ? Why should they be seized with a sudden desire to quit the country which they were born in and accustomed to ? Why, if they wanted to go south, did they not find their way into China, instead of crossing a stormy sea to a continent they knew nothing of, and which, for aught they could tell, might have no warm climate or fertile soil ? But, admitting that they had reasons for crossing over to America, is it credible that they should have successively passed through the territories now known as Alaska, British America, Washington, Oregon, Utah, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico, down as far south as Guatemala, without finding any locality to suit them ? They must have been fastidious indeed. Not a place whereon to rest their weary feet throughout the fifty degrees of latitude they traversed ! No pleasant spots in a track four thousand miles in length ! Verily, they must have been hard to please.

Perhaps the reason why they continued marching so long was that they could find nobody to direct them to Teotihuacan ; it may have been that they could not pronounce the word properly, and the natives were unable to understand them. It is some-

what extraordinary too, that Quetzaleohuatl should, with his barbarians, have acquired influence in a neighboring civilized empire; but this influence may have been one of fear; it is not pleasant to have a swarm of savages in one's vicinity. But let us go on to the close of the legend. The chiefs, having at length discovered the holy city, (which, apparently, was built for them by somebody else,) proceeded to fulfil their vow. Accordingly they chose Nanahuatl, one of their number, for a sacrifice to the gods: and he was burnt with his servant Metzli. Nanahuatl at the time was suffering from a loathsome disease, which became honored in consequence ever after! He and his servant did not vanish with the fire that consumed them, but reappeared as a bright sun and a moon in the heavens. M. De Bourbourg gives this portion of the legend an allegorical explanation, as well he may.* He tells us that it is an allegory of the rising and setting of the sun and moon; that it is spoken of with mysterious reverence, and that it installed a new period styled Nahul-Ollin (or "fourth movement") in astronomy, and sometimes called Ollin Tonatiuh (or "the sun in motion.") It coincides with the Mexican year I. Silex, and probably commences the era of the calendar of which the Toltec-chiefs, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, were the authors. It was adopted by the Totonacs, and it probably gave rise to the erection of the two principal pyramids of Teotihuacan. The Mexicans observed several festivals in honor of this apotheosis of Nanahuatl and Metzli, and it gave rise to the horrid practice of offering up human sacrifices to the gods. The civilized Mexicans carried this to a fearful extent up to the last hour of their existence as a nation. The Spaniards ruthlessly trampled it out, and destroyed temples and priests alike. It is one of the few benefits their conquest of the country conferred upon it.

Our own impression with regard to this tradition of the migration of the Quichés, from Asia to America *via* Behring's Strait, is, that it embodies a most ancient historical fact, and points to the mode in which the Indian or red race first appeared on this continent. Their so-called "wearisome march" most likely occupied a very long period of time, probably hundreds of years, if not thousands. They spread slowly,

* *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, vol. i. pp. 181-184.

remaining in each locality successively occupied by them until they exhausted the supply of food which it yielded, and then removing to another. In this way, generation after generation would extend their range until the whole continent was explored, and in process of time "the abode of the gods" was discovered in Guatemala. We look upon Quetzalcohuatl as a mythic personage — pretty much like Hiawatha — who was subsequently created in order to give character and consistency to the narrative. A divinely inspired leader is always a very desirable person. If we could have one now, we should have great reason to rejoice. And the Quichés were right in making the most of the one who was vouchsafed to them, if he ever existed. His name, Quetzalcohuatl, (pronounced Ketzalwhotl,) appears frequently in the Mexican annals, sometimes as a hero on earth, sometimes as the god of war above. He even had a hand in the creation of men, according to the Mexican cosmogony, which we shall notice presently.

There is much more historic certainty about the second of the great facts on which the annals of Mexico dwell, namely, the existence of an ancient empire called Huehue Tlapallan, whence came the Toltecs. It was so powerful and extensive that its language, called the Nahuau, became predominant throughout Central America. It was in attempting to subvert this empire that Quetzalcohuatl met with his fatal repulse. After his retreat, the four leading chiefs, rejoicing in the euphonious names of Oxomoco, Cipaetonal, Tlaltetecui, and Xuchicaoaca, convoked the assembly of the Nahuans, and established the new calendar before referred to for astrological as well as astronomical purposes, which calendar remained in use until the destruction of Mexico by the Spaniards. The first two chieftains possessed themselves of the empire, ruling, we presume, conjointly. Their sons gave them much trouble, insomuch that two of them had to be put to death; and a third set up an independent kingdom in the mountains of Quiché, of which the sacred city of Utlatlan became the capital. A series of revolutions took place in the government of the Nahuans or Toltecs, one military chief deposing another, pretty much in the same manner as the modern Mexicans are doing at the present day.

In short, revolution seems to be inherent in that volcanic soil ; for we read of very little else in the chronicles which the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has furnished us with. The only period of comparative tranquillity Mexico has ever enjoyed was under the rule of the Spanish viceroys. Among the Nahuan Toltecs such troubles arose that at last a considerable body of them fled to the shores of the Pacific and to Southern California, where they established several kingdoms. Others, again, turned toward Yucatan, where a branch of them called the Tutul-Xius established their dominion. The Toltecs were, in fact, broken up, as regarded their ancient empire, and henceforth their history parts into many streams. The era of this disruption or dispersion has been carefully preserved. It is the first precise date we meet with in the annals of Central America, and is fixed at the year 174 of the Christian era. After this event the chronology remains silent until the year 268, when a second exodus of the Tutul-Xius took place from Yucatan, but we are not told why they left that country, nor why they poured into Guatemala. They remained masters of the latter until subdued by the Chichimecs from Culhuacan under a chief named Mixcohuatl, in the year 686. The conquerors established the era of Tezcuco, commencing at this date, and from this time the rule of the Toltecs in Mexico, properly so called, begins.

Before we part company with the Tutul-Xius, however, we will notice some peculiar features distinguishing them from the other tribes. Their priests understood the art of setting fire to objects by directing upon them the sun's rays concentrated in a focus ; we are told that when sacrifices were offered, they brought down the divine fire by the aid of a mirror and burnt the victims. One of their most distinguished chieftains, Kinieh-Kakmò, who was afterward deified, instituted an order of Virgins of ~~the Sun~~, whose duty it was to keep the sacred fire perpetually burning. But they were not bound by such severe vows as the Roman vestals were, for no one could be compelled to become a " Virgin of the Sun." The vows were made for a limited time only ; but if they were broken before the expiration of that time, or if the fire should become extinct, the offender was shot to death with arrows ; and lastly, when the time had expired, the Virgins

[March,

might marry whom they pleased. Their lovers had merely to ask the consent of the chief priest, which he was expected to give as a matter of course. When the Tutul-Xius went to battle, they dressed up the image of their war-god in royal robes and ornaments, and it was borne before the soldiers by the four most valiant captains in the army. This god appears to have been possessed of but little influence, for he did not, or could not, prevent their meeting with disastrous defeats and finally being expelled from their country. They settled near Vera Cruz, and in remote parts of Yucatan and Guatemala. The king of Mayapan granted them possessions in Chichen-Itza and in his own immediate kingdom, where they became faithful feudatories. There they founded the city of Mani, which in a few years became one of their most important settlements. They also founded the city of Tihoò on the site whereon the Spaniards subsequently built Merida, the present capital of Yucatan. In the midst of the city was an artificial mound of vast extent, whereon was erected a temple equal in magnificence to any in Itzamal. It was surrounded by delightful groves. The Spaniards were amazed at its splendor and at the beauty of the edifices in Tihoò. The historian Cogolludo* gives the following extract from a letter to Philip II. on this subject: "The city (Tihoò or Merida) is thirty leagues in the interior. It is called Merida. It received this name on account of the magnificent edifices which it contains; for throughout the entire extent of the country which we have discovered in the Indies, we have found none so beautiful. They are well built of stones of an immense size. We know not who erected them. It appears that they must have been built before the birth of Jesus Christ, for there were trees above as tall as those which grew below at the foot. These buildings are five toises (32 feet) in height, and are made of hard stone. At the summit of these edifices are four apartments, divided into cells like those of monks, twenty feet long and ten feet broad; the jambs of the doors are of one block, and the ceiling is vaulted. The monks have established a convent of St. Francis in the edifices situated in the part we

* *Historia de Yucatan*, lib. iii. cap. 11.

have discovered. It is right that that which has served for the worship of the devil should be transformed into a temple for the service of God. It is in this sanctuary that we have celebrated the first mass that has been heard in this country."

Our estimate of the magnificence of these temples is somewhat diminished by this letter of Cogolludo's, however; for if they were not more than thirty-two feet in height, they were not more imposing than a very moderate-sized house in one of our cities. Perhaps it was the length and extent of them that so astonished the Spaniards, whose enthusiasm has sometimes been unduly participated in by the learned abbé.

We have spoken of the subjugation of the Tutul-Xius by the Chichimecs. The details of the struggle afford one more proof—if such were needed—of the folly of invoking the aid of foreigners to quell intestine broils. The narrative reminds us of the case of the Britons who invited the Saxons into England to protect them from the Piets. It seems that the priesthood of the Tutul-Xius asserted their right to interfere in the administration of public affairs, and this caused so much irritation among the people that they threatened to get rid of these troublesome ministers of religion. Thereupon the latter invited into the country, in order to protect them, a fierce tribe of the Toltees, called the Mixeohuas, granting them license to hunt and dwell there. These savages soon became the terror of the land, and the priests, alarmed, invoked the aid of a tribe of the Chichimecs, offering them rewards if they would exterminate the aggressors. A battle ensued which resulted in the submission of the Mixeohuas, who subsequently blended with their victors. There is a striking analogy between this portion of Mexican history and that of England after the battle of Hastings. The conquered Saxons blended with their Norman conquerors, whom the Chichimecs strongly resembled in other points.

M. De Bourbourg* tells us that all the traditions in the Nahuatl language invariably give the name of "Chichimecs" to the nations or tribes who invaded the soil, whatever may have been their distinctive characteristics.

* *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, vol. i. p. 193.

So all those swarms of pirates that issued from the shores of the Baltic were indiscriminately called Northmen or Normans, though their armies which overran England and France were composed of Russians, Livonians, Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Wends, Holsteiners, and Saxons. Like the Normans, too, the Chichimecs considered the name thus given to them a title of nobility instead of contempt. They gloried in conquering other countries, where they came to hunt the game, and take up their abode on whatever spot pleased them, ruthlessly expelling or exterminating the natives. And again, like the Norman in England, the Chichimec, even after long years of residence among the native inhabitants, often refused to mix his blood with theirs, for fear of spoiling its purity; hence that nobility of which he was so proud, and which was held in such high esteem in later ages by the population of the Aztec plateau. What is this but that same haughty aristocratic feeling which is still existing among the descendants of the Normans in England, the German nobles with their sixteen quarterings, and the Spanish grandees with their *sangre azul*?

History and tradition are both silent as to the destinies of the original Nahuas. They probably merged into the Toltecs, whose chief city was that Teotihuacan which the Quichés long ages before had crossed over from Siberia to find. Up to the moment of the arrival of the Toltec tribes on the Aztec plateau we meet with nothing but dates and names, more or less obscure, indicating their march across the countries which lie between Chicomoztoc and the Aztec plateau. M. De Bourbourg, however, has rescued from oblivion some few particulars, gleaned from hieroglyphics and native traditions, which possess historical interest, and around which he endeavors to throw a poetical garb. We are told that after the conquest of the Mixeohuas by the Chichimecs, fresh accessions of warriors joined their ranks. Among these were Xiuhnel and Mimich, two famous heroes of ancient legends still preserved in Mexico, and given in the learned abbé's work.* The fate of one of these heroes reminds us of that of Holofernes after being en-

* Vol. i. p. 202.

tertained by Judith. He was drawn into a snare by siren voices, and visited by a foreign woman or enchantress, who killed him while he slept. The other with his arrows slew the enchantress, who, it seems, rejoiced in the name of Itzpapalotl. After this exploit he raised a funeral pile, on which he burnt her body; but, while burning, it underwent five transformations, and was finally converted into white flint. At the moment when this last transformation took place, Mixcohuatl, the most renowned of all the ancient Chichimee heroes, arrived. He wrapped the remains of the body in precious cloth, and carried them to Comatlan, an ancient city not far from the eastern shore of Lake Tenochtitlan, and north of Tezeuco. A piece of this body, called "the talisman of the white flint," was one of the reliques found in the temple of Mixcohuatl at Cuitlahuac, which Montezuma the First removed to Mexico, in the fifteenth century. The advent of Mixcohuatl and the establishment of the era of Tezeuco have been before referred to. From this period the history of the Chichimees in Mexico becomes less obscure. They received the appellation of Toltecs, the origin of which name is uncertain, some writers deriving it from the city of Tollan, others from the Mexican word *tolla*, signifying an osier. Tollan, however, was the name which they themselves gave to the ancient city of Mamheni, when they took it, after a six years' siege, (A.D. 724;) so that it seems unlikely they should have changed their own name thereupon to that of the conquered city.

The Toltecs rapidly extended their empire. Their government was a singular one before the establishment of their monarchy. They divided themselves into seven tribes; at the head of each was the Pilli or hereditary chief. These seven chiefs directed the councils of the nation, and were its generals and priests; one of them, named Huéman, was a venerable sage, whose name frequently appears in their annals. This form of government was found to work badly, and by the advice of Huéman the Toltec chiefs abdicated, and sent an embassy to the king of the Chichimees of Huehue Tlapallan to solicit him for one of his sons to become their ruler. The king acceded to their request and sent his second son, Chalehiuh-Tlatonae, who thus became the founder of the Toltec monarchy. Hué-

man is said to have been the author of the sacred book "Teo-Amoxtli," compiled by him in an assembly of sages and astrologers under the presidency of the second king of Tollan. This book has been lost; it was probably a collection of the laws, and a compendium of the sciences which prevailed among the Toltecs. Their priests were the principal cultivators of the latter, and at one time were the only learned persons in the nation. From the moment of their arrival on the Aztec plateau the Toltecs commenced building temples and offering sacrifices to their deities, with a pomp and ceremony unknown to the ancient inhabitants. They introduced numberless superstitions among the latter. And they were actuated by a tyrannical spirit of proselyting, forcing all the races whom they conquered to embrace the religion of the conquerors. Their kings assumed spiritual as well as regal authority, and pretended to be gods; they maintained their supremacy by a system of terror. The offering up of human sacrifices was one of the darkest features of their religion; captives taken in war were almost always got rid of in this manner; but criminals and paupers were also disposed of in the same way; and on very grave occasions, such as a pestilence, an earthquake, or a foreign invasion, the victims were selected from the aristocratic classes. Huge fires were made of logs of wood prepared for the purpose; and troops of young men, dressed in a fantastic and monstrous manner, pretending to be the companions of the gods, danced around the flames, throwing into them from time to time, one after another, the miserable creatures. Can we wonder that the vengeance of heaven fell at last upon this blood-stained race?

The ordinary Mexican chronology commences at the year 726, at which period the Toltec monarchy was fully established. In the course of a century it became the most powerful kingdom in Central America. Anahuac, Quantitlan, of Huitzilapan, and Tlaxcallan (called by the Spaniards Tlascala) were annexed to it, and the cities of Chalchihuapan, Calipan, and Huexotzinco were founded. The great king Mixcohuatl-Camaxtli, who achieved these results, was buried in the temple at Cuitlahuac, and for centuries devotees came from all parts of the empire to visit his tomb; he was invoked as one

of the gods of war, and religious festivals were instituted in his honor. He reigned sixty years over the Toltecs, and died A.D. 817. There were Amazons in those days, quite as valiant in war as Hippolyta and Penthesilea, and more successful; for we are told that under the leadership of their queen, Chimalman, they defeated the Toltecs several times. Queen Chimalman, however, was taken prisoner at last, and the Toltec king persuaded her to change her name and give him her hand. She became the mother of the most renowned of all the Toltec monarchs, warriors, and legislators, Quetzalcohuatl, who has sometimes been confounded with, but was a different person from, that other celebrity of the same name who, hundreds of years previously, led the Quichés from Siberia to Guatemala. It is rather singular that the same confusion exists with regard to other great mythical chieftains. Thus, in the history of Persia mention is made of two Zoroasters, to both of whom is ascribed the introduction of fire-worship; one of these lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, (B.C. 521-486;) the other, it is said, preceded him two thousand years. In the history of Scandinavia there are two Odins, both of them deified, and represented as leading a considerable body of emigrants from the northern shores of the Black Sea, through Russia into the north of Europe, and establishing a kingdom in Sweden. The first is probably a real personage and lived in the first century before the Christian era. The second, who is probably a myth, flourished about sixteen hundred years before him. In the history of Assyria, Semiramis, the great queen and warrior, plays a prominent part; yet historians are not agreed as to the epoch of her existence; Helvius placing it B.C. 2248; Syncellus, B.C. 2177; Eusebius, B.C. 1984; Usher, B.C. 1215; and Herodotus, B.C. 713! There must surely have been more than one queen Semiramis. So we need not be surprised at finding two Quetzalcohuatls in Mexican history, and both deified as the god of war. The latter one, however, had the advantage of being brought up by his aunt, Cohuatl, because his mother died four days after his birth. This aunt was priestess of the temple of Quilatzli; and, because she had no children, was subsequently worshipped as the goddess of child-birth! *Lucus a non lucendo*; we might rather say, *Lucina*

a non lucendo; she is represented as carrying two children in her arms.

The personal history of this second Quetzaleohuatl is as remarkable as that of the first. He was born A.D. 839, and brought up as just mentioned. When he was eight years old, his father was murdered by three of the leading chiefs. The boy was saved by a band of attendants called "the sacred companions," who carried him off, and concealed him until he was old enough to avenge his father's murder. Eight years afterward he secretly dug a mine leading to the great temple of Cuitlahuac, where he surprised and slew the murderers. He caused his father's remains to be buried with great ceremony, and then disappeared for more than fifteen years.

Every scholar will be struck with the resemblance of this story to that of Orestes, who was eight years old when his father, Agamemnon, was murdered, was saved and concealed by his nurse, until eight years more had elapsed, when he returned to Mycenæ, surprised and slew the murderers, and then went away on a pilgrimage of atonement! We are tempted to ask whether, in filling up these particulars in the life of their Mexican hero, Messrs. De Bourbourg and Aubin were not a little aided by their classical reminiscences. They have not, however, given him a Pylades, but they have made him turn his pilgrimage to better account than Orestes did his; for he returned to Mexico with a number of followers of foreign extraction, accomplished in a variety of arts, sciences, and systems of philosophy unknown to the Toltecs. Where could he have been? Peru, perhaps, or China, or Japan. His learning and his noble appearance excited universal admiration. He landed at Penuco, whence it may be inferred that he had visited Cuba. Having crossed the plains of the Cuextlan, he built a stone bridge over that river, (A.D. 870,) which was standing in the time of the Spaniards. He reached Tollantzinco, where, aided by "the sacred companions," he spread the doctrines he had learned abroad. Here is ground for speculation. These doctrines are described by M. De Bourbourg as being a mixture of pantheism and idolatry, *similar to those of the Hindoos.**

* Vol. i. p. 256.

Had he been to India? If so, he must have gone and returned by sea, though why, in such case, he should turn up on the Atlantic side of Mexico instead of the Pacific is a mystery. If he had really visited Asia or Europe, how passing strange it is that no trace of the visit of this illustrious and royal traveller should be found in the history of any nation of the Old World! Can it be that the whole story is an invention of—no matter who? The death of the reigning king happened opportunely three years after the return of Quetzalcohuatl, (A.D. 873,) whom the people raised to the throne by acclamation. He devoted himself to beautifying the city of Tollan, and to the suppression of the practice of offering human sacrifices. He had evidently learnt humanity in his travels. He also, says the historian, founded monasteries and an order of recluses. He may have taken a hint from the Nestorians whom he met with in China, or from the Christians of St. Thomas, whom he saw in India. But these "reforms" excited the hostility of the priests, who got up a revolt. To avoid bloodshed, he resigned the throne, amid the lamentations of his subjects, and retired to the city of Huitzilapan, (A.D. 895.) There he made his beneficent presence felt. Temples and public works were constructed under his direction, and the famous city of Cholullan was founded. But his enemies followed him with a powerful army, carrying fire and sword with them. Then he appeared in a new character—that of a coward—for, in spite of the remonstrances of his new subjects, who offered to stand by him to the last, he fled to Cuetlahltan, (now Cotasta, in Vera Cruz,) where he embarked on board a ship, went to sea, and was never heard of again. It must be confessed that this was an ignominious exit for a hero. His illustrious contemporaries, Alfred the Great, Charlemagne, and Haroun Al Raschid, encountered dangers as great as those which threatened him, but came out of their trials very differently.

Huémac, who had driven away Quetzalcohuatl, destroyed Cholullan, but was so charmed with the beauty of the site that he rebuilt and beautified the city and took up his abode there. He set up his own statue in all the temples and ordered that it should be worshipped. Thousands of human victims were

offered up to the new deity. But his career came to an untimely end; for his subjects at Tollan revolted and proclaimed another king. And Huémae, having met his foes near Lake Tezeuco, was miserably defeated: his army was cut to pieces, and he disappeared and was never seen again, (A.D. 930.) His fanatical followers, thinking this disappearance miraculous, worshipped him as the vivifier of all things!

The victor, Nauhystl, became master of the entire empire; and in order to immortalize his name, he erected a temple to the goddess of Frogs, who soon became one of the most popular of the Toltec deities, and an order of priests was instituted to serve her. To the same epoch may be referred the institution of the expiatory feasts of Camaxtli, whereat the captives taken in war were sacrificed to that god. The worship of Tlaloc, god of the waters, also came into vogue: to him were sacrificed every year, at seed-time, a boy and a girl of four years old, who were to be children of the highest nobles; and, when the harvest ripened, four children of a riper age were also sacrificed by being left to perish in an obscure cavern, without light or food.

It would be wearisome to trace the history of the revolts, usurpations, civil wars, and crimes which fill the greater portion of the century following the victory at Tezeuco. Suffice it to say that under the administration of licentious rulers, the affairs of the nation ultimately fell into irretrievable confusion. Civil war broke out, and to its horrors were added a desolating pestilence and a famine which swept off thousands of the miserable people. All sorts of evils devastated the land; but the greatest of all was the sudden appearance of an immense horde of savages from Texas, California, and New-Mexico, the ancestors of the Apaches and Camanches of the present day. They ravaged the north and north-east of the empire; then they descended like a torrent on the plains of the Anahuac. The Toltecs resolved to abandon their country, and those who escaped from the murderous savages fled to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Yucatan, and Honduras, where they founded kingdoms. But their delightful abodes on the plains of Anahuac were utterly destroyed; their great cities of Tollan, Testihuacan, Culhuacan, Atompan, and others equally famous were reduced to heaps

of ruins, and the country was made a wilderness. And thus ended the Toltec empire, (A.D. 1070.)

A large portion of M. De Bourbourg's work is devoted to tracing the fortunes of the exiled Toltecs, whose ruined cities have been so graphically described by Stephens in his *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*. But we shall confine ourselves to the history of Mexico, which occupies the concluding portion of the work. After the devastation of the territories which formed the ancient Toltec empire, those savages who had achieved it were in their turn pressed upon by others from the north. A great emigration to the south had set in, the cause of which is unknown, and has excited much speculation. It is now that, for the first time, we hear of the Mexicans, or Mexicas, a name derived from one of their earliest chiefs, Mexitl. They were an Aztec tribe, who quitted their native country, Aztlan, about the year 1090, and after some years of wandering, rested at Chicomoztoc, (A.D. 1116,) where reigned a powerful prince named Mateuezomatzin, (transformed by the Spaniards into the more euphonious and easily remembered name of Montezuma.) They abode eleven years at Chicomoztoc; thence they sojourned successively at Acahuatlzinco, (now San Juan del Rio,) Coatepec, Tepeyrae, and Chapultepec, where they fortified themselves. This pilgrimage lasted seventy years, (1116—1186.) But where was Aztlan? and who were the Aztecs? These questions cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. The Spanish missionaries among the Indians, in the sixteenth century, say that the name of Aztahan was given by the natives to the river Huaqui or Yaqui. In the ancient manuscripts this name is often confounded with Aztlan: sometimes the two are joined together. Sometimes Aztlan is combined with Chicomoztoc and represented as a very large city situated on an island, the abode of the ancestors of the Mexicans. It was in the dominions of Montezuma, where were two other great cities, Aztlan-Aztatlan and Teo-Culhuacan. In the regions between the Yaqui and the Colorado are found the imposing ruins known as "the great houses of Montezuma." Immense ruins bearing this title are found on the banks of the Gila, and here, doubtless, at a remote period, before the invasion of the Toltec empire in the

eleventh century, the Aztecs held sway. But why did they migrate southward? This has hitherto remained a mystery.

Traces of a civilization similar to that of the Aztecs have been found much further north than Sonora. Gigantic monuments, tumuli, pyramids, and fortifications have been discovered near the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes of the North, and thence down the valley of the Mississippi to the gulf of Mexico. The Teo-Chichimees, who invaded the Aztec plateau in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, constructed defensive earth-works similar to those found in the north. This race appears to have consisted of a mixed population, a portion being addicted to living in large cities; another portion leading a wandering life; they were, in fact, partly civilized, partly savage. It further appears probable that they were expelled from their settlements near the Great Salt Lake in Utah, and the Canadian lakes, by a fierce race of northern savages, who had gradually driven before them all the civilized races, laying cities and villages in ruins, and whose descendants are at this day pursuing their remorseless mission in Sonora and Chihuahua. These tribes are now known as the Apaches and the Camanches. For more than a thousand years they have been pursuing their fell career, leaving the tracks of their devastating ferocity behind them. The tradition of their cruelty is still preserved in Kentucky, where the slaughter of the native tribes appears to have been so great as to have obtained for that state the name of "The dark and bloody ground."

It would be tedious as well as unprofitable to bestow much attention on the wars and contests for supremacy between the rival chiefs of the various tribes settled in the valley of Anahuac. Surrounded by powerful enemies, the Mexicans heroically held their ground and preserved their independence, thus showing that their race possessed extraordinary vitality. However, they came very near being entirely destroyed, in the year 1297, when the neighboring kings laid Chapultepec in ruins and carried off its population. But their valor found favor for them with the king of Culhuacan, who gave them the island of Tizaopan for their residence, (A.D. 1299,) on condition of their serving him in war. The next remarkable event in their history is the foundation of the city of Mexico, (A.D. 1325.) It

was occasioned by the cruelty of the Culhuau king, who drove the Mexieans out of his kingdom. They fled to Azeapotzaleo, where they were received for a time, but subsequently were expelled. They then took refuge in Tenochtitlan, where they finally settled, and built the celebrated city which bears their name. Here they flourished, notwithstanding civil feuds occasioned by the encroachments of the priesthood. The people became divided into two parties, who brought great tribulation on each other; but a series of able though cruel princes finally consolidated them into one, and thus they were enabled to carry on sanguinary wars with their neighbors. They subjugated province after province, until, about the year 1500, their empire attained to the extent and wealth in which Cortez found it.

- ART. V.—1. *An Historical Sketch of Columbia College in the City of New York.* By N. F. MOORE. 16mo, pp. 126. New York, 1846.
2. *Statutes of Columbia College and its Associated Schools; to which are added the Permanent Resolutions and Orders of the Board of Trustees.* 8vo, pp. 92. New York, 1866.
3. *Annual Report of the Treasurer of Columbia College, with the Report of the Managers of the Accumulating Fund.* 8vo, New York, 1868.
4. *Letter to the Hon. the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi.* By FREDRICK A. P. BARNARD, LL.D.
5. *Prof. Barnard on Collegiate Education and College Government.* 8vo, pp. 104. New York, 1855.

BEFORE doing ourselves the pleasure of indicating some of the very agreeable evidences of progress presented by Columbia College during the last two or three years, we beg leave to make a few observations which, although they may seem somewhat irrelevant at first sight, yet, when considered in their bearing on the different branches of our subject, will, we trust, be found not to do any serious violence to the unities so far as the latter are governed by reason, common sense, and a proper regard for the development of truth and the overthrow of its ancient foes, narrow-mindedness and prejudice.

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We trust we need hardly remind our readers, at the close of our eighteenth volume, that to no object have our editorial labors been more earnestly devoted than to the elevation of the standard of education in our colleges, and we think it is equally superfluous to remind them that in giving our impressions of the institutions of our various religious sects, none have acted in more full accordance with the maxim of the Tyrian queen. At no time were we so sanguine as to expect that we could please all; we were quite as well aware ten years ago as we are now that none ever did so who attempted to point out defects as well as merits.

Far from feeling any regret, however, after an experience of nine years we have many reasons for congratulation. In at least nineteen cases out of twenty we have been treated in the most courteous and cordial manner by chancellors of universities, presidents of colleges, and principals of seminaries, male and female. In this proportion those various institutions have cheerfully offered us every facility to enable us to form an opinion of their respective systems of education. Nor have they evinced any wrath toward us on being criticised; or been prevented by our criticisms from again furnishing us any facilities we required. We need hardly say that it is the most accomplished educators who have evinced the most cordial willingness to be thus communicative; in other words, those who are at the heads of institutions that perform faithfully the work they undertake—those who are qualified for their positions—have no dread of criticism; indeed, they are much more likely to invite free expressions of opinion, as we can testify from experience.

Even the most timid and retiring female educators, when conscious of their ability and of the fidelity with which they perform their work, are quite willing that any one who conducts himself properly may enter their seminaries, and give such opinions of their systems of instruction as he may think fair. Some think that the educators, male and female, of one sect are more willing to submit the results of their efforts to criticism than those of another; but we can truly say that among the competent class we have not observed the slightest difference in this respect. We have found the accomplished

Catholic instructor just as willing to have the work he performs for the public put to the test as the Protestant instructor. Proverbial as the nuns are in all parts of the world for their retiring habits, those of them engaged in education, and qualified for their positions, have the good sense to understand that those whom they expect to send them their children should have an opportunity of deriving what aid they can from the opinions of others in forming an estimate of the instructions their children are to receive. Accordingly, many of those estimable ladies, while fully aware of our not being a Catholic, have done us the honor, not only of expressing their cheerful willingness that we should visit their institutions whenever we felt disposed, but of cordially inviting us and urging us to go, without any request on our part; and in those instances in which we have availed ourselves of the privilege we have been most courteously afforded every facility to form a correct opinion of their schools. If we have ever abused this privilege, we ask when or where?

Nor have we had any different experience of those respectable seminaries or schools for young ladies, whether in city or country, which are in charge of competent laymen or clergymen of any denomination. Thus, for example, the Rev. Dr. Van Norman, principal of a first-class female institute in this city, has proved more than once that he had no apprehension that we would do any injustice to himself, his corps of instructors, or his students. His chief reason was, that he felt conscious of having done his work well; and it afforded us pleasure to testify how well-founded and honest that consciousness was. We felt bound to inform our readers after our last visit that, apart from other agreeable evidences of high culture, it had never been our privilege to have heard interesting passages in the *Aeneid* of Virgil more elegantly or more correctly translated than by the young ladies of Dr. Van Norman's own class.* We have been honored with similar invitations by the president of the Rutgers Female College, and by the lady principals of the Ferris Female Institute.

These remarks have been suggested to us by a somewhat re-

* *Vide N. Q. R.*, for March, 1868, pp. 391-393.

markable contrast which we have lately observed. On a certain day, some weeks ago, we wrote two notes, one addressed to the Rev. Dr. Barnard, S.T.D., president of Columbia College; the other to the Rev. Father Shea, S.J., president of Fordham College. The purport of one was exactly the same as that of the other—a request to be allowed the privilege of being present at some of the recitations of the students, as we wished to have something to say in our next number on one or more of our local institutions. This was nothing new on our part; it was in accordance with the promise we made in the first prospectus we ever issued, as may be seen from the following paragraph which we copy from it :

"Education in every form, including art and science, will receive prominent and friendly attention; and whatever seems calculated to retard or vitiate it, whether under the name of a text-book, a painting, a seminary, a gallery, or a college, will be subjected to fearless but fair and temperate criticism."

Personally, both gentlemen were equally unknown to us. We had not long to wait for the reply of Dr. Barnard, which was all we could have desired, and all that should have been expected from an experienced and accomplished educator; but to this day Father Shea has not deigned even to acknowledge the receipt of our communication. We are not in the least offended at this, but speak of it in perfect good humor, *sine ulla maleficio*; if we have any feeling in regard to it, it is one of pity.

Perhaps it is natural enough that, in certain cases, those who are criticised—no matter how mildly the thing has been done—should think, or at least pretend to think, that the critic has been actuated by some wicked motive or other. Well, it may be remembered that we once ventured to express the opinion that if the good professors of Fordham paid less attention to billiards and other gaming apparatus, and more to books, those who send them their sons to be educated might have more reason to thank them. We had also been once guilty of visiting the college *incognito*; but there were extenuating circumstances in our case. We went without saying anything about reviews or any other publications, because we were informed that nobody

known to be in the habit of publishing his opinions would be allowed to see the curiosities of that institution, without being armed with a document, from some orthodox person, certifying that there would be nothing but praise—and that in the superlative degree. We were assured that even to hint that there was any other college superior, or even equal, to Fordham was an unpardonable offence, and we did not relish the notion of asking any one to certify for us that we would stultify ourselves in this manner.

It is due to Father Shea, who, we doubt not, is a good clergyman, that we should confess these little matters, but we think he should have remembered in our favor that even when we did visit his college *incognito* we gave the institution full time to improve its reputation before we published one word on the subject. At least twelve months had elapsed from the day of our visit before we even alluded to the facts which we learned from it; although we admit that the chief reason of our reticence was that it seemed almost a pity to blame pious, well-meaning men for not doing what it was evident they were utterly incapable of. This faculty, thought we, may have superior faculties for sending people to heaven; but their faculties for teaching even the ordinary branches of education are very slender indeed, although it is fair to say that we met with two exceptions to the general barrenness—one was the professor of music, the other the champion billiard-player. Both these gentlemen seemed highly accomplished, and we have since been informed by much more competent judges than ourselves that they have few if any rivals in their respective spheres among the numerous professors of American colleges.

It was in vain we assured Father Shea that we would do no injury either to student or professor from the time we entered the college until we left it; to this we added that we were very willing to believe that he had made important improvements in the college, as somebody had lately affirmed; and that it would afford us pleasure to estimate those improvements at their full value. But all would not do; it seems the good father was reminded of the fable of the fox and the goose!

St. Xavier's College in this city has not quite so great a

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horror of criticism as Fordham. Father Loyzancee, the president of the former, is more polite as well as less timid than Father Shea. It is true that he also seems unwilling that his students should be seen at their ordinary recitations by a journalist who might possibly criticise their intelligence, but he has no objection that those selected and drilled for the purpose may be seen at their semi-annual exhibitions. We have been favored with tickets of admission to several of these, including the last. On two or three occasions we have gone, accordingly, hoping that each succeeding exhibition would exhibit an improvement, nor did we forget to attend the recent one; but we realized, once more, that the path of knowledge is both steep and thorny, especially where there is not much of it to be found!

We really have no disposition to find fault, but those exhibitions have always seemed to us very much like boyish theatricals. Judging from the large crowds that attend them and the manner in which they behave themselves, a considerable proportion of the public—especially that part known as our “help”—must regard them as having some connection with the theatre. That ladies and gentlemen of the highest respectability and intelligence are present on those occasions, far be it from us to deny; but for one of this class there are at least fifty who have no conceivable business in such a place* except it be regarded as their business to crowd every seat, and, apparently, vie with each other in making all the noise they can with hand and foot as well as tongue, in and out of season. As if for the especial entertainment of this highly enthusiastic and appreciative class, Daniel O'Connell and George Washington, St. Patrick and Pope Pius, “Garryowen” and “Hail Columbia,” are jumbled together in a manner which, we fear, must make both saints and angels weep; for whenever one of them is mentioned the “help” seem to think that, in order to show how fully they understand everything, how highly they value education, religion, liberty, etc., they must pound away at the floor until they are tired!

* Genus hominum atque mulierum agrestē, sine moribus, quod exhalit odorem saponisque patinarum, sed quod multa fide imbutum est.

It will not do to say that we criticise these two colleges because we are opposed to the Jesuits or to the Catholic church ; as well might it be pretended that, because one points out a decayed or stunted branch in the oak which has flourished for ages, he condemns or seeks to degrade the king of the forest ! Every intelligent Jesuit or Catholic who knows anything of ourselves or our journal is aware that there is no foundation for any such statement. Had we found Columbia College or the University of New-York making a burlesque of itself in the manner alluded to above, nothing would have prevented us from presenting the facts to our readers, so far as we understood them. Upon the other hand, there are no colleges in the United States of which we have spoken in higher terms than of the two Jesuit colleges of Georgetown, D. C., and Worcester, Mass. Both of these institutions have a well-earned fame. But has this rendered them stiff or exclusive, or caused them to surround themselves with mystery ? This question, we think, is sufficiently answered by the fact that in their palmiest days, when under the control of the most learned and accomplished Jesuit educators in America, we were cordially invited to visit them, and afforded every facility to enable us to form an estimate of their system of teaching, in order that we might publish such views of it as we thought fair and proper. At the Worcester college we were urged and prevailed upon to remain at night in order that we might be the better able to form an opinion of the discipline of the institution ; and never were we treated with more frankness or kindness anywhere. Nor was Georgetown a whit less courteous, frank, and hospitable to us. Both presidents were fully aware that we had criticised the Jesuit colleges near home ; but it is well known that superior intelligence as well as superior morality inspires courage, and we are informed on the best authority that "the wicked flee when no man pursueth, while the righteous are as bold as a lion."

"*Degeneres animos timor arguit.*"

So much, then, for our prejudice against the Jesuit fathers as educators. If our regarding some fathers as very indifferent educators be a prejudice, it is like that which we have against the ill-bred nag as compared to the thorough-bred, high-spirited Arabian charger. But let us be just to Father

Shea and Loyzance; they have not acted coarsely or rudely, which is more than could be said of some of their predecessors. Their resistance to criticism has been but passive, whereas that of some of their predecessors had been active and belligerent. Thus, for example, a professor of St. Xavier, wrote us an abusive letter, in execrable English—half Canadian-French—some six years ago, for no better reason than that we expressed the opinion to our readers that Manhattan College, conducted by the Christian brothers, was far superior to any other Catholic college in the vicinity of New-York.* This was our sincere conviction after having been present at several of the ordinary recitations of Manhattan, with the cordial permission of its president,† who was just as willing that we should hear every class and examine every department as Dr. Barnard of Columbia has recently proved himself; and we did not think it would be a mortal offence to any one to say that one Catholic college was better than another, when it was evident to any intelligent person that such was the fact.

But we soon found that this was a grave mistake, and seldom did any epistle surprise us more than the document alluded to. This, we thought, is from some junior member of the faculty; surely the president will promptly disclaim, if not condemn it. Under this impression we addressed a note to that gentleman, respectfully and faithfully stating the facts, but we never received any answer. It will be understood, then, that Father Shea and Father Loyzance have acted in a manner comparatively mild, polite, and Christian-like, although we think they—especially the former—have still an immense amount to learn in order to qualify themselves for the rectorship or government of a college; more, we fear, than it will be ever possible to put into their heads by any process yet discovered.

* It is still more superior at the present day; and some of the more enlightened Catholics evince their appreciation of the fact by withdrawing their sons from Fordham as well as St. Xavier's, and placing them at Manhattan.

† This gentleman has since been made provincial of the order in America, as a reward of his enlightened and successful efforts in favor of collegiate education; and it is sufficient to say of the gentleman who succeeds him, that he is imbued with the same laudable zeal for the thorough education of the students which has distinguished his predecessor.

As for the venerable chancellor of the University of New-York, there is no educator anywhere who has a stronger claim on our gratitude. He was one of the very first to evince his appreciation of our labors. While our journal was in its infancy, struggling for existence, he generously gave us all the encouragement and aid in his power, and at the same time interested the university in our favor, causing it to confer upon us its highest honors.

It may be asked, What has all this to do with Columbia College, which forms the subject of our present article? but we think it has a good deal; since we all learn, or, at least, ought to learn from each other, and all admit that example is better than precept. Besides, we confess we are somewhat partial to the Socratic mode of discussion. Socrates, it will be remembered, compared all sorts of people—good, bad, and indifferent—with each other; so did Lucian in his Dialogues, and so did Cicero in his Tuseulan Disputations. If any one says that a college is good or otherwise, does he not imply that there is a standard? in other words, is not the expression a relative one? Nay, is it not for the purpose of setting a good example that the faculty of St. Xavier's select their smartest students and exhibit them once in six months for the admiration of as many as their largest hall can contain when packed to its utmost capacity?

Although the amount of manuscript now accumulated before us admonishes us that we have lingered rather long with Father Shea and Father Loyzance, yet we cannot take leave of them without some examination, however brief, of a plea or two which their friends make in their favor. Some throw the blame on the Very Rev. James Perron, S.J., superior of the province which includes New-York and Canada. It is urged that this gentleman, having been an officer in the French army, is much more military than clerical or literary in his tastes and habits; and that his qualifications as an educator are exceedingly limited. To this it is added that the very reverend gentleman sends to Canada the professors who are best calculated for Fordham and St. Xavier's, and fills nearly all the "chairs" in the two New-York institutions by French Canadians, who are in need of instruction themselves, at least in the English language and

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literature; and that if any subordinate is bold enough to suggest that this is not exactly the right course, he orders him off to some distant part, or if he condescends to use any argument, makes some remarks which may be freely translated as follows: "Why should I keep the best ~~teachers~~ here? Who are the students, in nineteen cases out of twenty, but Irish of the lower order? In Canada, you know it is different."

How correct or incorrect this may be, we cannot undertake to say, for we have no personal knowledge of the superior; but we are assured by those who knew him well, that his superiority, if not entirely imaginary, is but a mere matter of courtesy; that several of the best fathers formerly under his charge have withdrawn from the society altogether, rather than submit to his style of government.

We are very certain that the present general of the order, who is learned and liberal as well as pious and good, would not tolerate any such tyranny. And were he disposed to be indulgent to our New-York provincial, the *Constitutiones*, which he is bound to regard as next to the Bible, would not allow him to hesitate. In proof of this, we will refer, in passing, to one or two of the essential requirements or indirect commandments of that celebrated and important work. First, it is necessary that provincials be select men.* Then, if mistakes should be made in appointing them, or if they should prove wanting when weighed in the balances, they should have the advice of wiser heads than their own.† If all this does not do, their reign may be cut short,‡ in which case they are liable to be placed in the position of the most humble subordinate. It seems incredible to us that our very reverend provincial would incur the risk of being set aside in this manner; certainly we have no wish to throw the blame on him more than on Fathers Shea and Loyzance, more than the facts may be found to justify on examination.

Again, there are other good, enlightened Catholics who blame his grace, the present archbishop of New-York. Since the archbishop attends all exhibitions, they say, both of

* "Eos oportet esse viros selectos."—*Const.* part 9, c. vi., vii., p. 326.

† "Debet habere suos consultores."—*Const.* part 9, c. vi. p. 11.

‡ "Potest prorogari et contrahi."—*Const.* part 9, c. iii.

Fordham and St. Xavier's, and praises everything as perfection itself, the Irish will be satisfied, and that is the principal point for the success of a Jesuit college in New-York. We own we thought ourselves, on a recent occasion, that his grace was somewhat indiscriminate, and rather hyperbolical, in his praise of one of the performances alluded to above. We felt convinced, however, that he meant well; but one may be an excellent prelate in every spiritual or heavenly sense, and yet know less about what constitutes a good education than the humblest curate in his diocese. We humbly think that this is the difficulty with his grace, and it is said that he is a little timid and narrow-minded besides. If he praises everything done at Fordham and St. Xavier's as worthy of admiration as well as imitation, and has no praise to bestow on the much better work of other Catholic colleges—if he will not even honor the latter with his presence without uttering a word—it is not because his grace would intentionally call brass gold or gold brass, but because he takes it for granted, having no time for investigation, that all Jesuits, ancient and modern, are equally learned, and equally accomplished as educators, and is equally summary in coming to the conclusion that while those who have been engaged in education only a century or two may be very pious, faithful, hard-working, exemplary men, they cannot be as good educators as the Jesuits, whether the latter have graduated in Canada, or elsewhere, or failed to graduate anywhere!

We are quite willing to excuse his grace on these grounds, if the more enlightened of his own people will do so; but, it is but fair to ask, in passing, whether the object of Father Shea, in so carefully guarding against criticism, may not be to prevent the eulogies of the archbishop from being put to too severe a test; or to prevent the superiority of the Very Rev. Father Perron from being called into question by too curious a reference to his decrees against some of his subordinates. Perhaps we cannot better settle this point, which is somewhat knotty, than by quoting a passage from one of the pamphlets of Dr. Barnard on college government. In discussing the qualifications of those who aspire to be the heads

of colleges, the present president of Columbia makes the following remarks :

" It is not enough that a man be a good man in order that he may succeed as a governor of youth. *The very best of men may make the worst possible of governors.* Good men act from convictions of duty ; and when once their course is chosen, the *mens conscientia recti* not only sustains them in it, but forces them to cling to it, whatever may be the consequences. How important, then, that a man should be *wise* as well as good—that his judgment should be as *sound* as his purposes are upright and his principles pure ! " *

We entirely concur in these views, and we think that few will deny their force. Far be it from us to deny that Father Shea may be the best of men ; indeed we do not doubt that he is a good man in certain respects ; but this is perfectly consistent, according to excellent authority, with his being—as we fear he is—one of " the worst possible of governors " or rectors !

Be this as it may, as soon as we learned that Dr. Barnard had an experience of nearly half a century as a college educator, and that he had written the pamphlets on college education placed at the head of this article, we had not the least apprehension that he would prevent us from visiting Columbia College, or being present at some of the recitations of the students. We did not omit to request permission, however, and we have already mentioned the result. We were very unwilling, indeed, to trespass on the gentleman's time, but he courteously and kindly insisted on accompanying us to as many of the classes as time would permit us to see.

We had the pleasure of being present at two recitations in Latin and two in Greek ; one of the former was in Virgil's *Eneid*, the other in the Satires of Horace ; one of the latter was in the *Odyssey* of Homer, the other in Sophocles. We had heard that Columbia had made considerable progress during the past three or four years ; this had led us to expect good translating, yet we very cheerfully admit that the reality far exceeded our expectations. In our visits to several American colleges, during the past eight or nine years we were led to the conclusion that some three or four of the Catholic col-

* Prof. Barnard on Collegiate Education and Government, p. 37.

leges were more thorough in Latin and Greek than the best of our Protestant colleges, not excepting Harvard or Yale; we were certainly surprised at the Romans and Grecians we saw at the Jesuit college of Worcester, Massachusetts, under the auspices of Father James Clark, now vice-president of Georgetown—where, by the way, he ought to be president, or superior. At the Worcester college we saw students for the first time in America translating Thucydides and Demosthenes orally and off-hand into Latin. Yet this did not surprise us so agreeably, or impress us so highly, as the fluent, animated Latin conversations and discussions which we subsequently witnessed at that modest, unpretending institution, near our city, known as Manhattan College.

These facts may give an idea of the impressions with which we visited Columbia, but, as we have already intimated, it is the character of the faculty, especially that of its head, which determines the character of the college for the time being. We have always denied that theology has anything to do with making good or bad Greek and Latin scholars, and need we say that it has as little to do with making good mathematicians or good chemists? but were it otherwise, we should not expect much from its influence at Columbia College, for, so far as we could see, or learn—and we have carefully examined its history—it is not in the least tinged with sectarianism.

When first established, Columbia College, or King's College, as it was then called, was considerably aided by Trinity church. This caused many to regard it as belonging to the Episcopal denomination, and accordingly it was long violently opposed by the Presbyterians under the leadership of William Livingston, although there was a clause in its very first charter that precluded the trustees from excluding any one from the advantages it offered, on account of his religion, even should they be disposed to do so. But this was not the only erroneous impression created in the public mind by the friendly aid afforded it by Trinity church; for to the present day it has been regarded as one of the wealthiest institutions in America—a notion which, as may be easily understood, does it much more harm than good, since it has a tendency to prevent its alumni and other friends from giving it aid which it has often needed,

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and which would enable it, as we may take occasion to show before we close, to greatly enlarge its sphere of usefulness.

The truth is, that although Columbia is comparatively modern—being little over a century old—it was established nearly by the same combined means as the great universities of Europe, especially Oxford and Cambridge, both of which were founded by churchmen and by grants of church lands. Among its earliest friends was the good Bishop Berkeley, who deserved well of both Catholics and Presbyterians, as well as Episcopalians. For the poor, oppressed Catholics of Clogher, his diocese in Ireland, he did all in his power, and he was one of the first who gave a valuable contribution of books to the Presbyterians of Yale College.

If our space permitted, we could mention many other names and facts which would show that, if Columbia College were in the least intolerant, bigoted, or wanting in appreciation either of the classic languages or the sciences, at the present day, she must, indeed, have greatly degenerated. But the truth is that the institution was never in a more efficient state than it is at present—if indeed its standard in the past was ever so high as it is to-day altogether independently of the important work done by the School of Mines, which, it must be remembered, is a new and invaluable addition to the scientific resources of the institution.

We confess that, before our recent visit, we had the impression that too much use was made of “explanatory notes” and translations at Columbia College, in teaching the classic languages; but nowhere else have we seen less use made of either—at least, during class hours. Far from having any fault to find in this respect, we were so much pleased at the manner in which the translating exercises were conducted in the more advanced classes, that we should like to see professors in general adopt the same course. What we allude to more particularly is this; when it came to a student’s turn to translate, he withdrew quietly from his ordinary seat in the class, and sat beside a small table in front of the professor’s desk, where he had upon him the eyes of all his classmates in addition to those of his instructor. He opened a copy of Sophocles or Horace, as the case might be, containing nothing but the original text—no

note or comment—read a passage as directed, then translated, then answered such grammatical, historical, or other critical questions as his professor thought proper to ask him, and retired on being allowed to do so, in order to make room for another.

All this was done without any confusion, or any injurious interruption of the exercises. In short, everything we saw in the different class-rooms, including the demeanor of the students, pleased us so well that we had but one criticism to make. This was on a part of the third satire of Horace's second book; we noted this at the beginning, in our tablet, as discreetly as we could, but after we had seen and heard so much that was highly creditable and laudable, we thought that if we mentioned so trifling a matter to our readers, by way of finding fault, we should have merited such a reward as that of the critic who, on having separated the chaff from a sack of wheat by order of Jupiter to whom he had complained, was ordered to accept the chaff for his skill and pains.

Feeling that we had already trespassed a good deal on the courtesy and good nature of the president, after we had spent some three very pleasant hours with Romans and Grecians, we begged that he would not trouble himself to conduct us through the School of Mines, as he kindly offered to do; but he politely insisted on accompanying us. We mention this, as well as some other facts, for the benefit of Father Shea and others, who, too much like the Veiled Prophet, would surround themselves with mystery; and we do so because we believe, with the author of *Lalla Rookh*, who is more orthodox than ourselves,

"How, like forts to which beleaguerers win
Unhoped for entrance through some friend within,
One clear idea, wakened in the breast
By memory's magic, *lets in all the rest.*"

In passing through the School of Mines, and admiring some of the various appliances by which nature is interrogated and made to reveal some of her most interesting secrets, we learned for the first time that if Columbia College has wealth it is not in the shape of money or property; though it is true

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that, as compared to other colleges, it has a fair share of each. What called our attention to this was the truly splendid collection in geology, which, we were informed on inquiry, belongs, not to the college, but to Prof. Newberry, although the institution has the use of it. This collection is estimated at \$20,000; the college wants to buy it, but it has so much to buy besides—especially books for the School of Mines—that it cannot afford the luxury. This suggests to us the question: Has it no *alumnus* wealthy and generous enough to relieve his *alma mater* in such an emergency?

When the progress of a college is spoken of, it is to be expected that something would be said of its general system of education; we think we cannot better gratify this expectation than by quoting an extract or two, from one of the pamphlets (written by the president) whose titles stand at the head of this paper; for although they were written while the author was in charge of another institution, we believe his opinions on the subject have undergone no change, and that his views and suggestions are accepted by the whole faculty with that deference which long experience and success in teaching should always command.

We have always thought ourselves that no college professor should confine himself to merely hearing recitations and correcting such errors as may occur to him while he is doing so. None who know us need be informed that our faith in the superior efficiency of the lecture system as a mode of instruction is no new theory on our part. We are perhaps all the more anxious on this account to invite the earnest attention of our readers to such of the views of Dr. Barnard on this subject as we can make room for in the brief space which we have now left. After fully conceding all that can be fairly claimed for the recitation system, he proceeds to show its purely mechanical character:

"But beyond this, it is certainly true that it is only in so far as, for whatever reason, the instructor does *actually superadd his own teachings to the text of the lesson*, that any talents or attainments which may belong to him personally can be *of any sort of use to his pupils*. For all the purposes of mere recitation, *any man* who is capable of *understanding what the pupil says, and of reading the book or books from which he has learned*

it, so as to compare the *performance with the text*, is as good and as capable a presiding officer and examiner in a class-room as any other. The teacher, therefore, who meets his classes for no purpose at any time but to 'hear their recitations' is not really a teacher, except in so far as he engraves upon this exercise the expository feature which is the distinguishing characteristic of the plan of instruction by lecture. To do this, however, to any extent in the recitation-room, without seriously interfering with the specific design for which the exercise of recitation was primarily instituted, is proved by experience to be *impracticable*. Class recitations have, at best, the great disadvantage, that either but few out of a large number can perform at all, or that each one who performs shall be under examination for so brief a space of time as nearly to defeat every useful object, and to render the exercise a little better than an idle form."—*Letter to the Hon. the Board of Trustees of the University of Miss.* By T. A. P. Barnard, LL.D.

How correct these views are has been proved by the experience of the most famous colleges and universities of Europe. Any one who takes the trouble to inquire will find that just in proportion as the European colleges are famous, and worthily so, is the lecture system employed, no one being called a professor who merely hears recitations with text-book in hand, and points out where this sentence or that sentence is incorrectly translated. A person with less knowledge of Greek or Latin than his students, having a lineal translation beside him, could do this as well as the most accomplished linguist—one who could speak the language grammatically and fluently. Accordingly, in the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, and Edinburgh, such instructors are called "grinders." In the colleges of France they are called *r  p  t  teurs*; but in the best of the German universities they are not recognized at all as belonging to the "board of instruction." We must not be understood, however, as entirely condemning the recitation system; all we maintain, and all Dr. Barnard maintains, is that there ought to be lectures as well as recitations. A competent person who prepares a lecture, can render his learning, culture, and talents available to his class to a considerable extent, whereas if the same person must hear from fifteen to twenty students translate, or perform some other exercises from the text-book, while all he can do is to make a few remarks here and there—even these being sometimes regarded as interruptions, if not impertinencies, by the more self-complacent but thoughtless

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of the students, it is evident that he can make little use of either his learning or talents.

We should be glad to present our readers several other extracts from the same pamphlet from which we have taken the above, for they are really worthy of the attention of all who take an interest in the higher order of education. It is because such suggestions and warnings are neglected, that so large a number of American students are to be found in the colleges and universities of Europe—a much larger number than most of our readers would believe; and it is for the same reason that there are persons without culture or talent who make a profitable business of writing "commencement essays" for the students of some of our most pretentious colleges. But our diminished space will only admit one passage more. Those who have sons and daughters to educate, with the means to pay a fair rate for their education, should, whether Protestant or Catholic, earnestly and honestly ponder on the following:

"There is not a college in the whole country which can provide itself with books, and instruments, and collections in natural science, and all the other appliances essential to thorough instruction, with no resources beyond the fees paid in by students for their tuition. There is not one which can even pay its officers for their services, unless it be upon a scale which starves rather than compensates, if it possess no better reliance than this. The higher education in this country, in the words of Dr. Wayland, is *the cheapest of all commodities in the market*. It is thrown, in fact, into the market so far below its cost, that it may, with all but literal truth, be said to be given away."^{*}

These are facts which no one capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject can deny. But we must close our desultory remarks; we cannot do so, however, without tendering our most sincere thanks, not only to the Rev. Dr. Barnard, but also to the different professors whose classes we had the privilege of hearing during our recent visit, for the cheerful courtesy and good-will manifested to us by all. Nor are we insensible of the decorum and politeness, worthy of gentlemen of mature age, with which the sons of the most respectable and honorable families of this great city enabled us to form our humble opinion of their intelligence and culture.

* *Letter to Hon. Board of Trustees of University of Miss.* p. 40.

AET. VI.—1. *The Red Book, or Royal Calendar for England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, for the year 1817.* London: 1817.
2. *Murray's Official Handbook of Church and State.* London: 1855.
3. *Cassell's Representative Biographies.*

WHEN Lord Palmerston died in October, 1865, full of years, after having been half a century in office, and twice prime minister, it was at once admitted by the political advocates and opponents of reform and progress, that "something must be done." Lord Palmerston, under the successive administrations of the Duke of Portland, Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Viscount Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington, from 1807 to 1828, had been mildly antagonistic to parliamentary reform. During all these years, he had held the office of secretary of war, a responsible yet still second-rate position; inasmuch as, until Mr. Canning became premier, its occupant had not been admitted into the cabinet. In 1830, tempted by the offer of the portfolio of foreign affairs, Lord Palmerston became a member of the Grey Administration, whose motto was "Reform, retrenchment, and peace." He had to speak and vote in favor of the reform bills of 1831 and 1832, but scarcely concealed his conviction that it would have been wise to leave the question of parliamentary representation *in statu quo*, especially believing that under the old system, by means of close or pocket-boroughs, (as they were called,) young men of birth, talent, or fortune could readily enter the House of Commons, whereas, under a reformed system, few except persons of comparatively mature age could hope to be successful. In this way, it was argued, Fox and Pitt, Canning and Brougham, Palmerston and Peel, Russell and Macaulay, with numerous others, had become legislators at an early age.

The Reform Bill of 1832 having passed into the statute-book, Lord Palmerston set himself steadily against further reform during the thirty-three remaining years of his life. He was premier from 1855 to 1858, and again from June, 1859,

to his death in October, 1865, but reform was almost a tabooed question during all these years. In the session of 1860, he permitted Lord John Russell to introduce a reform bill, which had not the slightest chance of being passed, and was merely brought forward, it was generally believed, to save appearances and fulfil a promise given when Mr. Disraeli's reform bill of 1859 was opposed by the Palmerston-Russell party. It went slowly through the House of Commons, and not the slightest sensation was created when, toward the close of the session, Lord John Russell asked for and obtained leave to withdraw it, on the ground that there was not time to discuss it. This done, Palmerston determined that parliamentary reform should be shelved during the rest of his days. There were some avowed advocates of reform in his cabinet, some of whom had been ostentatiously loud-voiced and almost violent (before they took office) in its favor. Such were Russell, Charles Pelham Villiers, Milner Gibson, and Stanley of Alderley, and other lower officials—such as Hutt, Childers, and Dufferin.

They all submitted to Palmerston's *dictum* that parliamentary reform should not be a government measure while he was in office. Mr. Bright and others who were anxious for reform had to submit to this—the alternative being a dissolution of the so-called liberal ministry. In 1865, within a few months of Lord Palmerston's death, Mr. Bright commenting on his election speech at Tiverton, observed that it said nothing about reform, though the complaint and danger of the hour was that 5,000,000 of grown up men had no direct representation in the House of Commons. "For two or three years," he continued, "I have not made it my business, either in parliament or out of parliament, to assail Lord Palmerston. He is an octogenarian. He has lived a great deal longer than most of us will live; and I confess I have no inclination to enter into the lists with an old man upward of eighty years of age. I shall be very glad to see Lord Palmerston spend several quiet and pleasant years in the retirement for which, I think, he is eminently fitted." But, to use Virgil's words, "*Diis aliter visum.*" Before the parliament he had summoned could assemble, Palmerston reposed, "life's fitful fever over,"

within the walls of that Westminster Abbey, the English Pantheon, where lay the ashes of Lords Chatham and Mansfield, of Fox and Pitt, of Sheridan and Canning.

On Palmerston's death, it became necessary to appoint a head of the ministry. Public opinion was strongly in favor of Mr. Gladstone, educated and eloquent, who, twenty years before, had given valuable assistance to Sir Robert Peel when that minister was introducing free trade and striving to give cheap bread to the multitude, and who had been very successful as financial minister in the respective administrations of Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston. A man of business as well as a man of genius, Gladstone had the good wishes of a majority of the working class. But, adopting a new reading of the phrase "*noblesse oblige*," Queen Victoria had to place Earl Russell—the Lord John who had introduced the reform bills of 1831 and 1832—at the head of the new government. He was seventy-three years old, but his official experience had been considerable. He had previously presided over the home, colonial, and foreign departments; had even acted as ambassador to Vienna: and had been prime minister, after Peel's retirement, from July, 1846, to February, 1852. It was an additional recommendation—perhaps one of the strongest—that he was a duke's son, whereas Mr. Gladstone's father, though he had made vast wealth and obtained a baronetcy, was a merchant who had risen from very low circumstances.

The great whig party, ever since the revolution of 1688, which first made its leaders prominent and gave them power, had acted as if the rule must be that high office was the right of none but the members of certain great houses—the Temples, the Russells, the Cavendishes, the Petties, the Villierses, the Howards, the Granvilles, the Gowers, the Fortescues, and so on. Therefore, they steadily set their faces against placing any man of talent, without high birth, in an exalted office. They submitted to Pitt and Fox and Spencer Perceval, because, though commoners, they were peers' sons, but they sneered at Addington, when he became premier, and lampooned him as "the doctor," because his father had been a country physician. They ridiculed Canning, when he became head of the government, because, though his father was a gentleman by lineage,

his mother had been an actress. They objected to Peel, because, though one of the best educated and masterly ministers of his age, and possessed of immense wealth, his father had been a cotton-spinner. And it may be doubted whether, though they admitted Macaulay into their charmed circle, and finally put a coronet upon his head, they ever quite forgave the fact that his father was a trader and his grandfather only a Presbyterian minister in the north of Scotland: it is a fact that when, soon after he had accepted the office of secretary of state, he wrote a letter to his Edinburgh constituents, dating it from "Windsor Castle," the whig aristocracy commented with great bitterness for what they termed "his impertinence" in letting the world know that he, a nameless commoner, by his talents had attained *their* hereditary right to become the sovereign's guest. With such precedents, with such feelings, the liberal whigs who had held office under Lord Palmerston were unwilling to submit to the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, and consented to the appointment of Lord Russell, at whose inferiority of talent and peculiar tendency, as Lord Derby publicly told him, "to meddle and muddle" in everything, they had laughed for years. In this manner, Lord Russell became Lord Palmerston's successor, and virtual ruler of the British empire, in the closing days of October, 1865.

Lord Russell, taking the office of first lord of the treasury, placed the Earl of Clarendon, an experienced diplomatist, in charge of the foreign department; removed Sir Charles Wood from the India office, where he had failed to obtain confidence from or give satisfaction to the public, but broke his fall by raising him to the peerage, with the title of Viscount Halifax. In the place of Lord Clarendon, removed to the foreign office from the insignificant position of chancellor of the duchy of Lancashire, Mr. Göschen, a rich merchant who had stood at the head of the poll at the recent city of London election, was appointed. He was 34 years old, had written ably on commercial subjects, and was esteemed not only as a clear-headed and practical business man, but also as an orator of effective talent. Admitted into the ministry, in November, 1865, in the subordinate office of vice-president of the board of trade, he was made a member of the cabinet, and

successor to Lord Clarendon, in January, 1866, his original appointment and subsequent elevation being generally attributed to the strong recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, who had conceived a very high opinion of him. These were the only changes in the cabinet—Lord Cranworth, Earl Granville, the Duke of Argyll, Sir George Grey, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Somerset, Mr. Milner Gibson, Lord Stanley of Alderley, and Mr. C. P. Villiers retaining the offices they had held under Lord Palmerston. There were fifteen members in each cabinet. In Lord Palmerston's there were two dukes, four earls, one viscount, two barons, two baronets, an earl's brother, and only three persons without title. These were Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cardwell, whose fathers had been traders in Liverpool, and Mr. Milner Gibson, a Suffolk gentleman with considerable landed property. Twelve ministers belonging to the aristocracy, and only three who belonged to the people—if, indeed, Milner Gibson could be so classed. The Russell cabinet consisted of two dukes, one marquis, four earls, two barons, one baronet, one earl's brother, and four commoners: eleven aristocrats to four men of the people.

The something that *must* be done, when the Russell ministry faced the country, early in 1866, was the bringing forward a bill for parliamentary reform. This was done by Mr. Gladstone, who, though he had begun his political career as a tory, sitting for the Duke of Newcastle's pocket-borough of Newark, had gradually adopted advanced liberal opinions. His scheme proposed to give the franchise to occupiers of premises of the annual value of £7 in boroughs and of £14 in counties. It was skilfully as well as strongly opposed by Mr. Disraeli, Lord Stanley, and their tory followers, and, at last, on the apparently trifling question, moved by Lord Dunkellin, a liberal, whether "clear" or "ratable" annual value would be taken as the basis of the franchise, the government was left in a minority of seven. Mr. Gladstone, who had the sole conduct of the proposed measure, at once resigned, true to the traditions of the whig party. It is said that Queen Victoria suggestively inquired whether it was worth while to break the government

on so small a question. He persisted, and the Earl of Derby was called upon to form a new administration.

Eminently fortunate in the circumstances of ancient lineage, high title, rich worldly possessions, cultivated talent, literary tastes, unusually great eloquence, much political experience, and the full confidence of a powerful party, the Earl of Derby, bold even to rashness, confidently accepted the government without any personal distrust. He had begun, early in life, as a progressive liberal, the politics of his family being whig. In time, he became conservative, being a strong champion of protection. When he became prime minister, in 1852, he declared that protection had become chimerical. In 1858-9, when he was a second time at the head of affairs, he had permitted his immediate lieutenant in the House of Commons to introduce reform, as a government measure. In June, 1866, he gave office to the same lieutenant. It was Mr. Disraeli in whom he thus confided, thrice making him chancellor of the exchequer. This gentleman, highly accomplished, who had won considerable literary reputation before he entered parliament, had begun political life as a strong liberal, but for many years had made himself a power in the House of Commons as leader of the conservative party. He enjoyed Lord Derby's entire confidence, and though the aristocrats on his side of the House affected to consider him only a *parvenu*, they had to submit to his leadership, on account of the tact and talent which distinguished it. Mr. Disraeli, in short, had become necessary to his party, by his genius, his adroitness, his surprising control of temper, and his sharp and sarcastic oratory. He was a powerful leader and a formidable antagonist.

The season was so far advanced when the third Derby-Disraeli administration was formed, in June, 1866, that, by common consent, important legislative business was deferred to the session of 1867. Lord Derby's cabinet consisted of one duke, four earls, one baron, a duke's son, the son of a marquis, a baron's son, two baronets, and four commoners: of the last, however, Mr. Walpole was the Earl of Oxford's cousin, and General Peel was brother of the late Sir Robert. During the autumn of 1866, arose a popular demand for reform, and with it a doubt whether the tories would grant a liberal measure.

Not until on the very eve of the session of 1867, did Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli decide on dealing with the question of reform. Both had been reformers in their youth—Lord Derby, when Mr. Stanley had taken a prominent part in passing the reform bill of 1832. Their difficulty was to induce their party to grant that reform which it had so long and so strenuously opposed. In February, 1867, Mr. Disraeli proposed a £6 rating franchise in the boroughs and a £20 rating in counties. This was objected to by the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Cranbourne, (now Marquis of Salisbury,) and General Peel, who quitted the cabinet. On March 18, Mr. Disraeli brought in the reform bill of 1867. It went much farther than Mr. Gladstone's bill, and finally passed into a law, receiving many alterations in its progress. Whenever they well could, the government yielded to its opponents, and when they could not yield, Mr. Disraeli brought the Commons to reason by a threat of dissolving parliament. The franchise was given to all householders, except those excused from being rated on the score of poverty. Lodgers paying one dollar a week rent received the franchise. The county franchise was reduced to £12 rating. The vote by ballot and the extension of the right of voting to women were negatived. A considerable redistribution of seats was made, by taking one member from several small boroughs. Additional members were given to some boroughs and to divisions of counties. Several new parliamentary boroughs were created. In all, 45 seats were redistributed.

The session of 1868 had begun in February, but, on the 25th of that month, it was formally announced that Lord Derby had resigned his office of premier. On his recommendation, the Queen placed Mr. Disraeli at the head of the government. Lord Cairns became lord chancellor instead of Lord Chelmsford, and some other changes took place during the session. The liberal opposition submitted to having reform for Scotland and Ireland passed under ministerial rule, but made several important alterations in both measures. The tories had gained the credit of carrying more extensive reforms than the liberals ever had the courage to propose, but Mr. Gladstone, who had again collected a strong party, moved three resolutions, on March 23d, pledging the commons to the

disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Episcopal Church. He carried these by large majorities. Mr. Disraeli, on this defeat, advised the Queen to accept his resignation or dissolve parliament. She declined the former, but was prepared to order a general election when the state of the public business would permit. A bill brought in by Mr. Gladstone, suspending all ecclesiastical appointments in Ireland until the Irish Church had been legislated for, was defeated in the Lords by a majority of 95, after having passed through the Commons by a large vote. Finally, on the last day of July, the parliamentary session of 1868 was closed by a speech from the throne, and duly prorogued.

On the 11th of November, parliament was dissolved, and within three weeks of that day, the general election had taken place—the result being a majority of 105 in the House of Commons in favor of Mr. Gladstone. The point on which, before the country, he joined issue with Mr. Disraeli was the Irish Church. On one hand, Mr. Disraeli maintained that this establishment, the net emoluments of which are £581,000, should be maintained, with little or no reduction; on the other, Mr. Gladstone affirmed that it was impolitic and unjust to have an endowed religious establishment, of any sort, in Ireland, and that the Protestant church in that country ought to be solely maintained by its respective congregations, precisely as is done in this country, on what is called the voluntary system.

The new parliament had been summoned to meet on December 10th, 1868, and it was expected that the speech from the throne would have been delivered five days later. But, on the 2d of December, Mr. Disraeli, considering that the result of the elections was decidedly against him, and being reluctant to enter into a parliamentary struggle which might retard but could not prevent his final defeat, tendered his resignation to the Queen. He thus effected the double object of preventing her name being mixed up with a party conflict, (as it must have been, if she had been made to express an opinion in the royal speech, hostile to the proposed Irish Church disestablishment,) and prevented considerable political agitation. Earl Russell may have expected the retiring premier to

have named him to the Queen as the most suitable person to whom might be entrusted the responsible duty of forming a new administration. But, independently of the noble earl's seventy-seven years, he had conducted himself in such a brusque, aggressive, and almost unparliamentary manner toward Mr. Disraeli, during the session of 1868, that there was no personal reason why that gentleman should say anything to advance his interests. Besides, it was Mr. Gladstone who had led the hostile array, not only in parliament, but during the great struggle during the general election, and therefore, when the queen asked the usual question put to retiring premiers, "Whom do you recommend me to send for?" Mr. Disraeli frankly answered that Mr. Gladstone, head of the successful phalanx, was the man. At once, Mr. Gladstone, then in Wales, was telegraphed for, saw the queen next day, received her command to form a ministry, and constructed it in eight days. On the 3d of December he saw the queen: on the 9th, he and his colleagues "kissed hand," upon taking the oaths of office. Mr. John Bright, being a Quaker, affirmed instead of swearing, and the queen dispensed with the form of his paying passage by "kissing hand." He was the first person to whom Mr. Gladstone offered a seat in the cabinet. It was only after much hesitation and long delay that he consented to accept office: he declined the important secretaryship for India, and took the humbler position of president of the board of trade instead. He was made a member of the privy council, and as such is entitled to have "Right Honorable" prefixed to his name.

Mr. Gladstone as premier, he being only a Liverpool trader's son, could scarcely have been very acceptable to the great whig party, the hereditary rulers of the land, when the other great party was not in office. But the whigs could not help having him at their head. He is far more liberal than they, and his liberality is progressive and even increasing. The whigs have a limit beyond which they never advance; there is no knowing how far Mr. Gladstone may go. He made a great and successful declaration of independence when declining to place Lord Russell in his cabinet. To *cut* Earl Russell, who has been a leading member of every whig administration since

1830, and had twice been prime minister, was a significant manifestation of self-confidence on Mr. Gladstone's part, and several reasons have been assigned for this. It was said that Lord Russell was too old, that he had grown conservative, of late—that he was crotchety—and that, in the Palmerston cabinet, he caused vexation and trouble by insisting on a tradition known only to himself, that an ex-premier was entitled to receive more consideration and exercise more power than any of his cabinet colleagues, with the exception of the premier.

The Gladstone contrasts favorably with the Palmerston, the Russell, the Derby, and the Disraeli cabinets, in point of talent. It is less aristocratical than any of these. Mr. Disraeli's included four dukes, two earls, a baron, two baronets, two earls' sons, and four commoners; Mr. Gladstone's has one duke, four earls, one baron, two peers' sons, and seven commoners wholly unconnected with the nobility. In the Disraeli cabinet, the only men of decided talent were himself and Lord Cairns, Lord Stanley, Mr. Ward Hunt, and Sir Stafford Northcote; in Mr. Gladstone's it must be conceded that besides himself, Lord Chancellor Hatherley, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bruce, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Mr. Childers, Mr. Göschen, and Mr. Bright are men of mark. Indeed, some think that Lord Kimberley, Mr. Cardwell, Earl de Grey, and the Marquis of Hartington deserve to be ranked as men of decided ability. The cabinet of 1806 went by the title of "all the talents," which is more applicable to that which Mr. Gladstone has formed. The lord chancellor, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bruce, Mr. C. Fortescue, Lord Kimberley, and Mr. Childers are respectively new to the duties of cabinet ministers. Of the fifteen who constitute the Gladstone cabinet, Lord Clarendon, aged 68, is the oldest: Lord Chancellor Hatherley is 67; Prime Minister Gladstone, 59; Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe, each 57; Mr. Cardwell, 55; Mr. Bruce and Earl Granville, each 53; the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Chichester Fortescue, each 45; the Earl of Kimberley, 42; Earl de Grey and Mr. Childers, each 41; Mr. Göschen, 37; and the Marquis of Hartington, 35.

During the last hundred years, there have been thirty-two changes of ministry. The longest reign was Mr. Pitt's; for 17

years and 80 days during his first term. Next to him was Earl Liverpool, who was premier 14 years and 207 days; and Lord North's, which lasted 12 years and 14 days. The shortest was Lord John Russell's, ten days in December, 1845. Mr. Disraeli was the subject of sarcastic comment for having such a short term as 281 days, but the Buckingham administration lasted only 132 days, in 1782. Mr. Canning was premier for 121 days in 1827; Lord Goderich, 168 days, in 1827-8; Lord Melbourne, 128 days, in 1834; and the Duke of Wellington, 22 days, in 1834, when he was waiting the return of Sir Robert Peel from Italy. The average duration of each British administration has been a little over three years. Canning, who had made the premiership the object of his life, retained it for only four months, and died, worn out by the struggle for it. "What shadows we are, and what shadows do we pursue!"

This is not the time to speculate upon the probable permanence of Mr. Gladstone's administration, which is greatly strengthened by the presence of Mr. Bright, the tribune of the people; but few will doubt that if Mr. Gladstone persevere and prove himself tenacious of purpose, he cannot fail to adjust the Irish Church question, backed as he is by a majority of over one hundred members in the House of Commons. He must expect to meet with antagonism from many quarters, and to be met in parliament by every stratagem which a crafty and still powerful opponent can consent to use. But in the heart of the people whose destinies are now in his hands, there is a prevailing impression that the great wrong of perpetuating an enormously rich church of the minority in Ireland has to be redressed by being removed, and that the equitable adjustment of the Irish tenants rights question must speedily follow that redress. Economy and retrenchment in the public expenditure will also be looked for at his hands, and it is said, indeed, that the Budget for 1869 will exhibit a reduction of \$10,000,000 in the outlay for the army and navy alone. His whole career as financial minister has exhibited Mr. Gladstone as constantly having in view the object of lessening the people's burdens by diminishing or abolishing the taxes upon articles of most general consumption.

Several years ago, when the late Earl of Elgin, then gover-

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nor-general of Canada, visited Washington, he was entertained at dinner by President Pierce, and made a post-prandial speech, of which a summary found its way into the newspapers. Comparing the government of the United States with that of Great Britain, he remarked that there was little real difference between the position and functions of the president in one country and the premier in the other. He could observe only a single point of difference—namely, that the English prime minister might be said to hold office while he was popular, but that the American president could retain *his* position to the close of the term for which he was elected, unless he had been convicted, on impeachment for some crime against the Constitution; in other words, that our “president is an irremovable prime minister.” In England, where parliament is supposed to represent “the collective wisdom of the nation,” when a government measure of any importance is defeated in the House of Commons, the head of the administration has either to resign office, on the plea that he has lost the confidence of the representatives of the people, or to dissolve the existing parliament and thereby appeal to the nation at large, or to modify the measure objected to—though this is an admission of defeat and weakness—or like William Pitt, in 1784, and Benjamin Disraeli, in 1867-8, carry on the government with apparent nonchalance, as if nothing hostile had occurred.

There is yet another difference between the head of the American government and the prime minister of England. From the beginning to the end of his presidential reign, the inhabitant of the White House at Washington is liable to be besieged with multitudinous solicitations for office—solicitations which, when supported by senators, members of the house of representatives, or powerful partisans, are very much in the nature of demands. In England, on the contrary, the prime minister has very little trouble in the dispensing of patronage, except during the anxious time—Mr. Gladstone took only eight or nine days last December—when he is forming his administration. The cabinet ministers are first appointed, after which, on consultation with these colleagues, the premier proceeds to fill up the offices, many of them of the utmost importance, which are vacant. On a change of administration in

England, there is not a general sweeping out of officials of all ranks and grades, as with us. Not more than forty-nine persons had to relinquish office, last December, when Mr. Disraeli made way, by resignation, for Mr. Gladstone, his great antagonist.

Every official appointment in the British Islands, not of a political character, is made during the good conduct of the recipient. The motto, "To the victor belong the spoils," however applicable it has been in this country, ever since the administration of General Jackson, has no practical significance in England, where only principals retire when the premier resigns. No official can be summarily dismissed in that country, except on cause alleged and proven. Whenever a vacancy occurs, it is filled up by the head of the particular department with which the office is connected, and it is not usual to consult the head of the government on the subject. *He* naturally claims and exercises the right of appointing to the higher offices. Therefore, whatever else may vex his mind, the pressure from without for appointments to office can scarcely trouble him.

The terms "cabinet" and "cabinet minister" are conventionally used in England, but the law has never formally recognized the organization they indicate. The cabinet is a select body, consisting of members of the privy council, in whom, for the time being, the whole of the sovereign's authority is vested. It is a principle of the British constitution, that "the king can do no wrong;" and as he is thereby relieved of personal responsibility, his select and acting advisers are responsible, and govern the country. The consultations of the cabinet are always considered confidential and no record is kept of its resolutions of meetings. Its existence has never been recognized by any act of parliament. When the sovereign empowers any gentleman to form an administration, that person places himself at its head, as first lord of the treasury, sometimes combining with it the office of chancellor of the exchequer, as was done by Mr. Pitt in 1784; by Mr. Perceval in 1811; by Mr. Canning in 1827, and by Sir Robert Peel in 1834. He appoints his immediate colleagues. The Gladstone cabinet consists of fifteen persons, namely: Mr. Gladstone, first lord of the treasury; Mr. Robert Lowe, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. H. A. Bruce, home secretary; Earl of Clarendon,

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foreign secretary; Earl Granville, colonial secretary; Mr. Edward Cardwell, war secretary; Duke of Argyll, India secretary; Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Irish secretary; Mr. H. C. Childers, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Hatherley, lord chancellor; Earl de Grey, president of the council; Earl of Kimberley, lord privy seal; Marquis of Hartington, post-master general; Mr. J. G. Göschen, president of the poor law board; and Mr. John Bright, president of the board of trade.

The highest salary paid to any cabinet minister is £10,000 per annum, to the lord chancellor. The first lord of the treasury, the secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer, each receives £5000 a year. In 1817, each of these salaries were as high as £6000. When the first lord of the treasury is also chancellor of the exchequer, he receives £7500 a year. These are high rates of remuneration, compared with ours; but it has been ascertained by exact calculation, that the salary of the first lord of the treasury is equivalent in value to a life annuity of about £338, commencing at the age of 21. Taking into account the uncertainties of success, the expenses of elections, the cost of living in London to attend parliament, and the average brief tenure of office, (three years,) it will be granted that the value of a successful statesman's salary is not considerable. In 1848, when Lord John Russell, then at the head of the government, was examined on salaries by a committee of the House of Commons, he deposed that he had never been in debt until he became prime minister—so far did the expenses of that dignified station exceed its emoluments.

The salaries of the fifteen cabinet ministers now in office amount to £64,000 per annum, or, excluding the lord chancellor, who receives £10,000 per annum, (£6000 as first equity judge, and £4000 as speaker of the House of Lords,) to £54,000, divided thus: first lord of the treasury, home secretary, foreign secretary, colonial secretary, war secretary, Indian secretary, and chancellor of the exchequer, each £5000 per annum; first lord of the admiralty, £4500; chief secretary for Ireland, £4000; postmaster-general, £2500; lord-president of the council, lord privy seal, president of the board of

trade, and president of the poor law board, each £2000 per annum. There are seventeen other leading ministers, political under-secretaries, not in the cabinet, who receive £27,000 a year. These are, first commissioner of works; vice-president of council on education; joint secretaries of the treasury; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; parliamentary secretary of the admiralty, and judge advocate-general, each £2000 a year; five parliamentary under-secretaries of state and of board of trade, each £1500; three junior lords of the treasury and secretary of poor law board, each £1000 per annum. In every public department there is a permanent under-secretary, who carries on the actual work.

The lord lieutenant of Ireland receives £20,000 a year, which rarely covers the expenses of that vice-regal but costly office. The Irish lord-chancellor has £8000. The Scottish ministers and the lord-advocate, virtually acting secretary of state, at £2388, and the solicitor-general, £955; the attorney general and solicitor-general of England are paid by fees, estimated respectively at £15,000 and £8000 per annum. The corresponding law-officers of Ireland are paid in the same way, may probably receive £5000 and £3000 a year. Out of the civil list or state allowance to the queen, ten of the chief officers of her majesty's household, namely: master of the horse, lord-steward, treasurer, comptroller of the household, captain of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms, captain of the yeomen of the guard, lord-chamberlain, vice-chamberlain, master of the buckhounds, and mistress of the robes—receive £15,638 a year.

The result is that, on a change of ministry in England, only 49 persons have to leave office. Thus:

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| 15 cabinet ministers receive | £64,000 per ann. |
| 17 principal ministers and under-secretaries, | 27,000 |
| 2 Irish ministers, | 28,000 |
| 10 officers of Queen's household, | 15,638 |
| | _____ |
| | £134,638 |

Added to this is the estimate of fees received by the four

law-officers of the crown in England and Ireland—say £31,000, and there are 49 persons, and no more, who make “their exits and their entrances,” with the prime minister, when he relinquishes or accepts office. The salaries of these amount to £168,981 per annum, giving an average of nearly £3509 to each person. But the higher classes of professional men in England earn considerably larger incomes, with the advantage of their steady continuance, if not increase. Large as the ministerial salaries are, they are scarcely equal, except by a stricter economy than their recipients have leisure to practise, to support the outlay which is considered necessary for maintaining the dignity of high political stations.

ART. VII.—1. *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations, particularly of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews, with special reference to recent discoveries in Western Asia and in Egypt.*

By CARL ENGEL. London : 1864.

2. *An Introduction to the Study of National Music: comprising researches into Popular Songs, Traditions, and Customs.*

By CARL ENGEL. London : 1866.

3. *Essai sur la Musique, ancienne et moderne.* Par M. DE LABORDE. Paris : 1780.

4. *Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards.* By EDWARD JONES. London : 1794.

5. *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards: interspersed with anecdotes of, and occasional observations on, the Music of Ireland. Also an historical and descriptive account of the musical instruments of the ancient Irish.* By JOSEPH C. WALKER, Member of the Royal Irish Academy. London : 1786.

6. *A General History of Music from the earliest times to the present: comprising the lives of eminent composers and musical writers; with notes.* By THOMAS BUSBY, Mus. Doc. 2 vols. London : 1819.

7. *Histoire des Gaulois depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'entière soumission de la Gaule à la domination Romaine.* Par M. AMEDÉE THIERRY, member de l'Institut. Paris : 1844.

8. *Memoirs of the Celts or Gauls.* By JOSEPH RITSON, Esq.
London: 1827.

In all ages of the world, and in all countries of which we have any history, we find that music has been cultivated in some form or other. From the barbarous conch to the elaborate organ, musical instruments have been in vogue among men wherever they have formed themselves into communities. Of the extreme antiquity of some of these instruments we can form some notion from the mention that is made of two of them in the earliest book extant. In Genesis, chap. 4. v. 21, we find it recorded that Jubal was "the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ." Jubal is described as being the seventh in descent from Adam, so that we are carried back to within a short period of the creation of the Adamic race, when it appears that the harp and the organ were in use. What the precise shape of the instruments so called was is a matter of uncertainty, nor are we particularly concerned at present in discussing the question. We cannot suppose that either of them resembled the harp or the organ of modern times; but we may reasonably infer that they were somewhat complicated in their form, and that hence they were improvements upon ruder instruments that had been in use previously. And by the term "father" as above applied to Jubal, we can scarcely understand by it that he was the progenitor of a race composed exclusively, or whose occupation was entirely that, of harpers and organists. We should rather suppose that the word father here signifies preëminence, and may be understood in the metaphorical sense in which it is applied to distinguished men.

But it is with the harp that we are more immediately concerned, as it has been the national and the favorite instrument of those races who have received the name of Celts, or, more properly, Kelts. It was preëminently the national instrument of Ireland, and is still so of the Welsh. It was formerly equally popular in Scotland, but it has fallen into disuse there now. And we can trace it in various forms to the East, where it was in use in the remotest ages, as we have already seen. It was imported into Europe during that vast

immigration of Asiatic tribes which poured into the west of that continent in the sixteenth century before the Christian era. Thierry, in his great work the *Histoire des Gaulois*,* asserts that the Gauls, Galli, or Gael, a nomad race, known in after-time in Asia Minor as Galatians, came originally from Asia, and, spreading themselves over Europe, separated into various tribes, known as Celts, Belgians, Volke, Arecomaci, and Tectosages. In the sixteenth century b.c., the Celts settled in the south of France, and crossing the Pyrenees drove the Iberians further south, and formed a province of their own, called, after them, Gallicia. They styled themselves Celts, the name Gaul being that by which other nations—and particularly the Romans—distinguished them. "Qui ipsarum lingua Celtae, nostrâ Galli appellantur."† Thierry maintains that the Armoricans or Bretons were also of Celtic origin, though usually classed as Cimmerians, Cimbri, or Cymry; he contends that these Cimmerians were Celts speaking a language analogous to modern Welsh. He derives the name of Wales from *Wal*, "the land of the Gaul;" and Caledonia from *Celyddon*, a Gaulish word signifying "the land of forests." Albion he derives from the Celtie word, *Alb*, "a mountain," and *Iun*, "an island." In like manner Erin is derived from *Er*, "the west," and *Iun*—the western island.‡ In this manner Thierry argues the Celtic origin of the original population of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. And Mr. Ritson, in the main, agrees with him.§

The Celts in Spain occupied more than half the peninsula, and were divided by the Romans into Neriae, Presamarci, and Cileni.|| And vast numbers of those tribes which left the regions of the Don and the Volga settled in the north of Europe and Germany. On them were subsequently engrafted the Teutons, the ancestors of the modern Germans. Thus we see that a very large proportion of the population of Europe is of Celtic origin and of Asiatic extraction. But this Celtic element has in eastern, southern, and central Europe been sub-

* Vol. i. Introduction.

† Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, book i. ch. i.

‡ *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i. p. 3.

§ *Memoirs of the Celts or Gauls*, chap. iii. § 4.

|| *Caii Plinii Secundi Historia Naturalis*, lib. iii. cap. i.

sequently modified very considerably by the blending of other races with it ; while it has remained nearly pure in Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, Wales, and the remote parts of north-western France.

Now it is in these countries that national music of a very marked and beautiful character is found, remarkable for its plaintiveness, sweetness, and originality. It has few pretensions to science ; intricate combinations of harmony are not found in it. There is no part-singing, chorus, or *fugue*, as in the music of Germany, Italy, and France. Its strains are easily remembered by the untutored ear, and sung by children. Its choruses are coronachs, wails, and dirges, sung by hundreds of voices in unison. The harp and the bagpipes are its instrumental interpreters in Ireland and Scotland ; the harp in Wales ; the shepherd's pipe in Brittany ; the guitar in Spain. And the songs that have the strongest hold on the hearts of the people are those which have been handed down through many generations. The beautiful Irish air "Coolin," for instance, was popular in the days of Queen Elizabeth ; and David Rizzio, it is said, sang the well-known melody, "Ye banks and braes o' Bonny Doon," to Italian words to please Mary, Queen of Scots ; but both of these airs had been popular among the Irish for ages before Elizabeth and Mary. The extreme plaintiveness of the Irish airs struck the illustrious German composer Haydn so forcibly that he exclaimed, "It is the music of a nation that has lost its liberty!"

The Irish music is singularly characteristic of the people, running, as it does, from the lowest depth of wailing to the highest pitch of hilarity and wild enjoyment ; combining with both, occasionally, a degree of humor and sly fun that is irresistibly comic. Contrast the mournful air, "My lodging is on the cold ground," with "Garryowen," "St. Patrick's Day in the morning," and "The Groves of Blarney," with "Colleen dhas cruiteen na moo," and we have abundant testimony to the varied scope and genius of the music of Ireland.

So with the music of Scotland, which, however, is less expansive in its nature, and is tinged with an argumentative tone ; what is called "the Scotch snap" gives it a very positive character, and those who are familiar with it will readily recognize this.

The dogged independence and self-reliance of the Scotch character breathes forth in their music ; and a no less marked feature is the development of the domestic affections, so forcibly and pathetically illustrated in "John Anderson, my jo," "My ain fireside," and other popular songs. The Welsh, again, display in their music the blustering and pretentious character for which they were remarkable formerly ; and their melodies do not develop the social, so much as they do the martial, qualities of the race. Rustic simplicity, combined with deep religious feeling, characterizes the Breton music. Courteous gallantry, united with the elegant movements of the dance and tinged with a decorous gravity, is the predominant feature of Spanish music, about which we shall say more presently.

The gayety and vivacity of French music are familiar to all, and France has given birth to few compositions of a solemn or classical order, such as Germany has poured forth in such profusion and of so masterly a description. We do not speak of English music, inasmuch as it has been the production of mixed and heterogeneous elements, and there is not much of it that can strictly be called national : what there is, however, is highly characteristic of the rough, turbulent, quarrelsome, and hard-drinking people who loved out-of-door sports and were not particularly polite in their manners. The very ancient ballads of, "Chevy Chase," "It's my delight on a shiny night," "Lady Greensleeves," "The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green," etc., will illustrate our meaning. But although the music of almost every nation possesses its distinctive characteristics, there are not unfrequently some remarkable similarities in the music of nations which have little or no intercourse with each other. These similarities are often of such a nature that they cannot possibly be explained as accidental coincidences, but must either have originated in a former connection between the nations, or must have been derived from a common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.

Both of these causes, however, may have been in operation among the European nations of Celtic origin : those we have just named were in such proximity that there could have been very little difficulty in communicating with each other. We know that the Phoenicians traded with Spain and the British Isles,

and there is a tradition that a lighthouse existed in the neighborhood of the Spanish port now called Corunna, for the use of navigators on their passage between that coast and Ireland.* The Spaniards (Spanish Celts) and the Irish had similar customs; one, in particular, of worshipping a certain god by dancing in the night of the full moon, with their whole families before their doors, and feasting all night.†

Mr. Engel, in his admirable and erudite treatises on "The Study of National Music" and "The Music of the most Ancient Nations," labored, and we think successfully, to prove that all music, musical instruments, and musical notation have been derived from Asia. He remarks‡ that the ancient Greeks possessed a musical notation, and from the progress which the Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, and some other nations of the same high antiquity had made in the cultivation of music, there is every reason to believe that they were likewise acquainted with a similar contrivance. The most primitive kind of musical notation—if it may be so termed—appears to be that which in ancient times the blind bards of the Celtic races are recorded to have used. It consisted merely of a rod, or a piece of wood, in which notches had been cut in various directions. The blind bards read these by the touch of their fingers, just as the inmates of blind asylums read by putting their fingers over raised letters. Some such rude contrivance as this is still resorted to by shepherds, field laborers, and other ignorant people in the rural districts of some European countries. In Wales it was called "Coel bren y beirdd," or "the wood memorial of the bards." The blind minstrels of Brittany, who perambulate the country, are still in the habit of carrying with them pieces of wood, with indentations for the purpose of recalling to their mind the different parts of their compositions.

As regards musical instruments, there is not one now in use among us that had not its prototype among the nations of antiquity. The piano is but an improvement on the dulcimer; the organ is an enlargement of the syrinx, the

* Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. i. ch. i.

† Ritson's *Memoirs of the Celts*, p. 101.

‡ *Study of National Music*, p. 333.

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wind being supplied by bellows instead of the human lungs, and the different tones being produced by pipes of various sizes instead of the ancient contrivance of stops. The cornet, cornopean, and ophicleide are skilful modifications and alterations of the antique horn. The guitar is a modification of the Asiatic lute. Cymbals, drums, triangles, bells, were in use in the remotest antiquity, especially among the Hebrews, who seem to have been peculiarly gifted with musical abilities, as they are at the present day. Mr. D'Israeli, in one of his novels, contends that they are preëminently endowed above all other nations with the gift of music, and he cites the names of a number of distinguished composers, vocalists, and performers in proof of his theory. He claims for them, at the same time, the far higher privilege and glory of being the only people to whom God has personally revealed himself and communicated his will. Through them alone has he spoken to mankind as he did through Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, David, Solomon, and the prophets, Jesus and his apostles : to which list he adds the name of Mohammed, as a partly inspired "Mosaic Arab."

The ancient Egyptians must properly be classed with the Asiatic nations. They were partly of Canaanitish, partly Arabian origin, with a slight intermixture of the Nubian blood. Their customs resembled those of the Assyrians in many respects. Like the latter they used hieroglyphics wherewith to inscribe their history and the mysteries of their religion on the walls of their temples, which hieroglyphics were not readily deciphered by the ignorant multitude, nor by the shepherd kings who conquered the country and tyrannized over it so long; for Mr. Osburn tells us* that the names which the Egyptians gave to these shepherd kings were ingenious perversions of real ones into the most opprobrious epithets. But this is digressing. The spoken language of the Egyptians was derived from Semitic roots, and its grammar was analogous to that of the Hebrew and Syro-Chaldaic. The ancients themselves regarded them as an Asiatic people who had settled in a corner of Africa. We are speaking now of the Egyptians of the days of the

* *Monumental History of Egypt*, ch. i.

Pharaohs, as they must have appeared to Abraham, to Joseph, and to Moses, and not of those of the days of the Ptolemies, when the country had undergone a series of foreign invasions—Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman—each of which left its impress on the people, and changed their religion and their manners.

Their ancient music, imported from the land of their progenitors, had in the latter days become modified by foreign nations. It had in early times, in the days of Danaus and Cecrops, (sixteenth century n.c.,) been imported into Greece. The versatility of talent and the ingenuity of that illustrious Hellenic race, to whom the world owes so much, speedily improved upon the Asiatic music and musical instruments, with which they became acquainted. The Greeks did more than this; they “married” their music “to immortal verse,” an advance in intellect of which the Asiatics have as yet been incapable, with the solitary exception of the Hebrews, who possessed the noblest psalmody the world has ever known. The latter were probably the inventors of antiphonal singing: they were renowned for their choral psalms and responses, and their skill in instrumental music. When they were captives in Babylon, their captors required them to “sing the songs of Zion.”* In the 150th Psalm mention is made of several instruments, namely, the trumpet, the harp, the psaltery, (the form of which is not now certainly known,) the timbrel, the organ, the cymbal, and instruments classed as “stringed.” So in the 33d Psalm, verse 2, we read, “Praise the Lord with harp: sing unto him with the psaltery *and* an instrument of ten strings.” In this text the word “and” is printed in italics because inserted by the translators; and but for this interpolation we might understand the author to have intended the words “an instrument of ten strings” to be an explanation or amplification of the word “psaltery,” so that it was probably a kind of dulcimer. In Daniel iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, mention is made of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, and psaltery; the sackbut here alluded to was a species of trombone. David performed on several instruments; he particularly excelled on the harp, †

* Ps. cxxxvii.

† 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

and we read that when he fetched the ark from Kirjath-jearim, he “and all the house of Israel played before the Lord, on all manner of instruments made of firwood ; also on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals.”*

Among the stringed instruments of the Hebrews no mention is made in the Bible of the violin, the main stay of the modern orchestra ; but it was in all probability known to them, certainly in the later period of their history, after their return from captivity. The Greeks had it in common use at an early period. It is recorded of Themistocles, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ, that on one occasion he said “he could not fiddle, but he could make a small town a great city,” which is evidence of its being well known at that period at least.

Mr. Engel contends† that most of the Greek musical instruments were nearly identical with Asiatic ones, and that the names of the oldest and principal Greek modes—the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Æolian, and Ionian—also support the assertion of ancient historians, that the musical knowledge of the Greeks was originally obtained from Asia Minor and Egypt. Whether these five modes were originally founded on the five intervals of the pentatonic scale is uncertain, but it is not improbable. In other European countries have been found traces of the oriental harp, and surprising similarities in the peculiar construction and form of old instruments with those of Asiatic countries. Unfortunately, no sufficient accounts have come down to us of the degree of proficiency to which ancient performers attained ; nor has enough of their music survived to enable us to judge of the extent of their knowledge of the science. We doubt that it exceeded an acquaintance with the rudiments. The knowledge of it possessed by modern Asiatics is of the most superficial character. One would think that all the musicians of Asia must have emigrated into Europe along with the Celtic, Seythian, and Tartar hordes, which for three thousand years continually poured forth their myriads, and that they left no successors or descendants. It is probably true that Asia was the cradle of our race, and also of all our knowledge,

* 2 Sam. vi. 5.

† *Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, ch. vi.

but her utility to the world as an instructress in any one art or science has long since ceased.

Uncivilized nations do not make any visible progress in music in the course of many centuries. Their new songs and dance tunes are generally formed strictly after the model of the old ones; and the same is the case with their musical instruments. In music used in sacred rites, or in old and cherished popular usages of a secular character, innovations are generally considered inadmissible. But this is not the case with civilized nations. In Germany, at the time of the Reformation, it was not unusual for the writers of sacred songs to adapt them to the old tunes then in vogue among the peasantry; and in this way drinking songs, hunting choruses, and love ditties were converted into sacred music. In the music of our modern churches it is a common thing to hear refrains from a popular opera, or selections from composers of instrumental music; and some of the most popular hymns in daily use are adaptations of English, Scotch, and German songs. The intoning, chanting, and antiphonal singing which are used in our churches are, in all probability, remains of the ancient Hebrew mode of performing the musical services of the Temple.

The apostles were Hebrews, accustomed from their childhood to the usages of their nation, and were doubtless familiar with the music used in their religious services before they became Christians; hence the adoption of it by their disciples and the early Christians. Jesus himself set the example by closing his last supper with the apostles by the singing of a hymn with them.* The Apostle Paul recommends the Ephesians to "speak to themselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord."† And he gives similar advice to his converts at Colosse.‡ And the Apostle James exhorts all who are merry to sing psalms.§ From which passages we may reasonably infer not only that such singing was common, but that there was a great variety of psalms and "spiritual songs" from which to select.

The Romans derived most of their musical instruments from the Greeks, and afterward carried them from Italy into the

* Matt. xxvi. 30.

† Ephes. vi. 19.

‡ Col. iii. 10.

§ James v. 13.

other European countries which they conquered. But they did little in the way of improving them, and it was not until Italy became Christian, and music formed a prominent feature in the church service, that the Italians made progress in the science. Then they produced a number of noble hymns in the Latin language, and improved the organ; they also composed church music, of which the Ambrosian and the Gregorian chants are noted specimens; and they cultivated part-singing and antiphonal chorals. This great branch of the Celtic family became the medium of introducing scientific music among the western nations of Europe, and in the middle ages the Latin races were preëminent in the art. The troubadours and wandering minstrels diffused "the joyous art" among all classes of the people of France, England, and Spain. The rough and fierce Normans caught the prevailing taste, and learned to play the harp and the lute. The renowned Richard, Cœur de Lion, was a musician, and could sing as well as play. We need not recur to the dubious story of Elondel, because there is better evidence than that of the fact. Music became a necessary part of the education of a gentleman, and was one of the *quadrivium* of the universities taking rank before arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. The crusades revived the ancient intercourse between western Europe and the East, and the knights of the Red Cross brought back with them from Asia some instruments previously unknown in Europe; so, at least, Mr. Engel asserts, in his "Music of the most Ancient Nations."^{*} He does not give us a description of these instruments; and we doubt if they were anything more than those which had been in use among the people of Asia from time immemorial, and had been known to the Greeks and the Romans, but had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten during the desolating wars which attended the fall of the Roman Empire and the incursions of countless myriads of barbarians into the civilized portions of Europe. The crusaders also brought back with them the music which they had learned in the East, and many of the airs which were popular in western Europe in the middle ages owed their origin to this.

* Chap. vi.

There is a tradition that the famous song "Marlbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre" was brought direct to France from the East by the crusaders; but the general opinion is that it is of French origin and was adopted from the French by the Arabs. However this may be, it is certain that it has long been known, and is still popular in several Eastern countries. Dodwell heard it sung in Constantinople, and also in towns of Greece; and he takes it for granted that it was introduced there by the Franks.*

Villoteau, an eminent musician, who accompanied the French scientific expedition into Egypt under Bonaparte, met with it in Egypt, where, he was told, it had formerly been sung to other words than those used at the time when he visited the country. All he could ascertain respecting its origin, was, that according to general opinion, it was introduced into Egypt by merchants from Greece. He however took it as an established fact that France must have been the country in which it originated. Mr. Engel remarks upon this, that there are several Arabic airs which closely resemble it in construction. Besides, considering the tastes and predilections of the two nations, it appears much more likely that the French would adopt a national tune of the Arabs, than that the latter should have adopted it from hearing it sung by their French visitors, with whom they felt no sympathy, but who were generally distasteful to them as foreigners and Christians. And, further, in almost every instance where we meet with a musical instrument, scale, or composition, appertaining to both Asiatic and European people, we may be sure that it originated in the East. This can often be distinctly traced, and it is a very interesting investigation to musicians who are competent antiquaries, or rather to antiquaries who are competent musicians. Villoteau also noted down an Egyptian march which was performed when the sheikhs, the civil and military authorities of Cairo, and the French residents in that city, followed by an immense crowd of Egyptians and strangers of all classes, went forth to welcome General Bonaparte upon his return from his expedition into Syria. This melody, somewhat rude but highly characteristic and effective, exhibits a peculiarity which is found

* *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece.* By Edward Dodwell. London, 1819. See vol. ii. p. 17.

in many of the songs of the Servians, namely, ending on the interval of the second. Indeed, the music of the Servians has much affinity with that of the Arabs; so has that of the Slavonian races—all of them branches of the Celtic family. Many specimens are given by Mr. Engel in his "Study of National Music," which present some singular characteristics, one of the most striking being that they are mostly in a minor key, with very little pretension to harmony.

It is a well-known fact that harmony, as it is used at the present day in our own music, is unintelligible to most of the nations outside of Europe, that is to say, those of Asia and Africa; those on this continent which are of European origin have European tastes for music: the Indians and others may be classed with the Mongolians of Asia. Our music possesses no charms for these Asiatics and Africans, especially as melody is often greatly neglected by our composers for the sake of harmony. The latter is generally too artificial to be appreciated by people whose ear has not been trained to it. In proof of this, Mr. Engel cites an anecdote related by Rochlitz, who states that once upon a time, having become acquainted with a young Greek who was visiting Leipzig, he played to him on the piano a Greek dance-tune which had been published by Bartholdi in his travels in the East. His object was to ascertain whether the Greek would recognize the tune, and what effect it would have upon him. He played a common accompaniment to it, but the young man did not at first recognize the melody; however, he listened attentively, and soon remembered it: the oftener he heard it the more enthusiastic he became about it; but he could not reconcile himself to the accompaniment.

The principal characteristics of Celtic music are originality, pathos, and simplicity. Its genius is unfavorable to elaborate development and intricate combinations, such as delight the modern Germans, the taste for which, like their capacity for deep thought and patient investigation, they have derived from the Teutonic element in their blood. Such things as fugues, symphonies, sonatas, and the like, do not suit the impulsive Celt. He is more delighted by a Scotch song or an Irish jig, a French dance, a Spanish bolero, or a Neapolitan

tarantella. The tender pathos of the Russian and Bohemian airs is better appreciated by him than the complicated fantasies of Thalberg and Liszt. Unless trained to it, the Celtic nations care little for part-singing; but the English and the Germans are passionately fond of it. In all ages the English have been partial to duets, glees, catches, madrigals, and rounds: they make first-rate choristers, being scarcely inferior to the Germans in this respect. The natural capacity for harmony possessed by the country people of Germany is greatly fostered by their village schools, where the children are often taught to sing two-part songs. Their national music is largely composed of concerted pieces; the chorales and hymns of the early German Protestants are the finest in the world. All this is due to the Saxon or Teutonic element; and to the extent that the Germans have left their impress on the Italians, the latter have also distinguished themselves as composers and singers of concerted music. It is, however, not indigenous to Italy nor to France, Spain, or Portugal; what these nations have of it is due to the Franks and Goths, and other German tribes which mixed their blood with that of the Celtic race in those countries. Exquisitely beautiful as many of the Scotch and Irish airs are, it does not appear that either Scots or Irish ever cared for making concerted music of them. We are speaking, of course, of untutored persons in past ages; and not of the cultivated ears for music which nearly all Irishmen and Scotchmen possess at the present day. The result of this cultivation with them, however, has been to put an end, apparently, to the power of composing an original melody; for very few striking airs, excepting "*Auld Robin Gray*" and "*Garryowen*," have been produced within the last hundred years. The principal exceptions among the Celtic nations as to this unsusceptibility to musical concord or harmony, are to be found among the Slavonic tribes, such as the Russians and the Bohemians.

Another characteristic of Celtic music is its durability; we might almost say, its indestructibility. Among the Slavonic nations there are popular songs which are evidently derived from the Pagan period; but as they have been preserved only by tradition, it is reasonable to suppose that their diction has been

changed in almost the same proportion as the language of common life; nor can it be doubted that the tunes are as old as the words, if not older. Among the German country people in Westphalia, traces have been discovered of an ancient ballad, which, in the opinion of Jacob Grimm, was made in the time of Charlemagne, (about A.D. 800.) In it allusion is made to the defeat of the Roman legions under Varus by Hermann, (Arminius,) the famous chief of the Cherusci, (A.D. 9,) which event took place in the same district where the song has been found. Some of the old hymns and chants used by the night watchmen of Switzerland and Germany are several centuries old. We have already alluded to the antiquity of the Scotch and Irish airs, a subject which has been discussed by Walker in his "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," and by Jones in his "Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards," in both of which works some very curious specimens are to be found. National songs sometimes become altered, but the music seldom loses its peculiar characteristics. These, there is every reason to believe, have been in most nations preserved nearly unaltered from the most remote times. Marco Polo's accounts of the musical performances of some nations in Central Asia, written about six hundred years ago, are corroborated by modern travellers. In Greece, musical performances and dances are still found which evidently bear a strong resemblance to dances and songs which are recorded as having been popular with the ancient Greeks. Nay, what is yet more remarkable, most of the musical instruments represented on the Assyrian bas-reliefs which have been recently discovered, are still extant in western Asia, being constructed and handled by the people in precisely the same manner as we see them depicted in the hands of the Assyrians; so that from a reference to the instruments and performances of the present people in western Asia much light has been obtained respecting the principal characteristics of the music cultivated by the Assyrians nearly three thousand years ago.*

Uncivilized nations are apt, however, to assign a marvellously great age to their favorite songs. The nations of the Fiji Islands

* Engel, *Study of National Music*, p. 330.

possess some which they say are so ancient that many of the words are no longer intelligible.* And Bowdich, on inquiring about the antiquity of a popular air which he frequently heard sung by the negroes in Ashantee, was told that the song was made when the country was made. The musical instruments of the negroes described by Europeans who visited western Africa, two hundred years ago, are exactly the same as we find them at the present day. Several of the names of our musical instruments are of Asiatic origin. And the very ancient pentatonic scale in use among the old Asiatics exists at the present day in the music of some of the Celtic nations of Europe. Among the latter were formerly in use instruments with five strings, like the old Russian *gussli* and the Finnish *cantele*, the Welsh harp, and the ancient Irish *coinar cruit*, which had twice five strings. We may reasonably surmise that these five-stringed instruments were tuned in the order of intervals constituting a scale, suggestive of the former use of the pentatonic.

The Scotch, the Irish, the French, the Breton, the Russian, the Servian, the Bohemian, and the Welsh music, though possessing characteristics in common, are yet strikingly different from each other: and the Spanish is unlike any of them, owing mainly to the stronger and more recent infusion of the Asiatic element into it. We find that the great influence which the Arabs, during their dominion in Spain, exercised over the taste of the Spaniards, is still clearly traceable in the national airs of the latter people. The Saracens invaded Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, and were subdued about three hundred years later by the Moors. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century (under the reign of Philip III.) that these Arabic invaders were entirely expelled from Spain, which, with the exception of some small districts in the north-west, had been for several centuries under their sway. Not only do we meet with certain forms and expressions in the popular songs of Spain which forcibly remind us of Arabic music, but also several of the Spanish musical instruments are of Arabic origin. The Spanish *laud*, for in-

* See *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands*, by Mrs. Smythe, (London, 1864,) p. 65.

stance, is the *el oud* of the Arabs. It gradually underwent reforms in its construction, and became, for a time, popular also in other European countries, under one or other similar name, such as *laute*, *luth*, etc. The *guitarra*, which has long been the special favorite instrument of the Spaniards, is still to be found, although of a somewhat different form, among the Arabs in Tunis, by whom it is called *kuitra*. Several other instruments, at the present day in the hands of the lower classes in Spain, could be pointed out as having been evidently derived from the East. The kind of Spanish music in which an Arabic influence is least perceptible is that of the church. The composers of sacred music in Spain, who, about three centuries ago, greatly excelled, appear rather to have taken the Italian music as their model. Considering the hatred which the people bore to their conquerors, it may easily be understood how averse the Spaniards must always have been to introduce anything into the service of their church which had been adopted from the Mohammedans.

With the music of the synagogue it was otherwise. The Jews had come over to Spain with the Moors, and the oriental character of their music bore a close affinity to that of the Arabic music. Among the songs used at the present day in the Sephardic synagoge, which adheres to the ritual of the Spanish and the Portuguese Jews, who were banished from the peninsula in the fifteenth century, there are several tunes which have been originally adopted from Moorish airs.

Again, the Spanish popular melodies derived from the Arabs are generally founded upon a series of intervals, partaking of the character of the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes formerly used in our church music. These have been preserved most intact in the province of Andalusia, where the influence of the Moors upon the musical taste of the people appears to have been stronger than in any other district of Spain. How widely has this characteristic music subsequently been diffused! We meet with traces of it in Mexico, Peru, Chili, and other American countries, in the Philippine Islands, and, in fact, in almost all places where the Spaniards have at any time established a footing. Dr. Pickering relates the following anecdote. "While we were at Singapore, a play was performed by the

Hindu workmen residing on Mr. Balestier's plantation. In the music I remarked a similarity to the Spanish airs heard on the western coast of America, but I should hardly have ventured an opinion on this point, had not Mr. Rich, who passed his early years in Spain, recognized the identity. The connection may probably be established, throughout the Moslems; but I must leave it to others to decide upon the relative claims to priority."* From this it appears to be possible that an amalgamation of Arabic and Hindu music may be mistaken for Spanish.

The Gypsies, dispersed like the Jews throughout almost every European country, were formerly supposed to be an Egyptian race; but eminent modern ethnologists tell us that they originally migrated from Hindustan. The musical talent of these interesting vagrants is well known. As professional musicians we meet with them in most European countries, generally in small bands roving from place to place, and entertaining the people with the national melodies of the country. Thus we find them everywhere, especially in Spain, Russia, Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and even in South-America. It cannot exactly be said that they have preserved anywhere a national music of their own. They have adopted in every country the music of the people among whom they live. Still there is much in their performances which they appear to have traditionally preserved from their Asiatic forefathers. Mr. Engel remarks† that most of our musical inventions and contrivances appear to have been in use, though less perfect, among ancient Asiatic nations. Guido d'Arezzo (A.D. 1000) is said to have invented the solmization, that is, the employment of the six monosyllables, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, taken from the words of an old Latin hymn. The Hindus had, long before his time, the monosyllables *sa, ri, gha, ma, pa, dha, ni*, also obtained from words.

The employment of different colors to distinguish the *intervals*, is more remarkable. Villoteau describes an ancient Egyptian harp with five blue, six yellow, and ten red strings. The an-

* *The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution.* By Charles Pickering, M.D. London: 1854. P. 181.

† Chap. vi.

cient Chinese stringed instrument, *kin*, had, Amiot informs us, twenty-five bridges, of which five were blue, five red, five yellow, five white, and five black. The contrivances are similar on some of our own instruments. On the key-board of our piano-forte, for instance, the intervals of the diatonic scale of C major are all of one color, but the chromatic scale requires the introduction of intervals of another color. And hence, probably, its name, from *χρῶμα*, color. The ancient Greek chromatic scale appears, however, to have borne less resemblance to our present one than to the pentatonic scale. The invention of the *harmonic* hand is usually ascribed to Guido d'Arezzo; but, according to Amiot, the ancient Chinese made use of it, and in his *Mémoires concernant l'Histoire des Chinois* a drawing and description of it will be found.

The Chinese also considered the triple time the complete, and the common time the incomplete one, just as our theorists did formerly. They were also acquainted with the *circle of fifths*, by which we demonstrate the relation of the keys toward each other. Their two-stringed fiddle, *urh-heen*, is tuned in a fifth; the Japanese *samsien*, in the fifth and octave; the Hindu *davitatri* is tuned in the same intervals as most of our instruments of the same kind. Such coincidences reveal a closer affinity between ancient Asiatic music and our own than is usually supposed to exist. It will be remembered that the Phoenicians—also a branch of the Semitic race—held, at an early period, trading intercourse with western nations in distant parts of the world, and should we ever, by fresh archaeological discoveries, become acquainted with their music, as we have with that of the Assyrians, we may, perhaps, find evidence in proof of this affinity.

In comparing the Scotch music with that of certain Asiatic nations, we cannot fail to be struck with a peculiar resemblance caused by the employment of the pentatonic scale. Some inquirers conjecture that this scale must have been brought from Asia to Europe by the Celts, and that in Scotland especially it retained its original characteristics most intact, the conditions of its preservation having been there most favorable. Others, again, believe this scale to be comparatively modern in Scotland, and attribute its origin to the

peculiar construction of certain musical instruments. Now the harp and the bagpipe may be considered as the principal instruments of the Scotch. The former has, however, become obsolete in Scotland. Both are also found in Central Asia, where they have existed apparently from the most remote period. Nay, what is more remarkable, these instruments, as formerly constructed by the Scotch and Irish, were evidently almost identical with those still used in some Asiatic countries. In an interesting leading article which appeared in "The London Times," of November 23d, 1864, after having graphically described the homage paid, on a recent diplomatic occasion in Hindustan, to the representative of Queen Victoria, by six hundred proud kings and chieftains, glittering with emeralds and diamonds, the writer incidentally observes: "Whether from fastidiousness of taste, or otherwise, it might be dangerous to inquire, but of all European music, the Indian ear loves that of the Scottish bagpipe alone; and when the pipers of the 93d regiment were ordered out to play, the gratification of her majesty's princely vassals was complete. Three times were the pipes brought up, and played round the great tent, to the delight of the company, and the Maharajah of Cashmere, we are informed, has sent an embassy to Sealkote for the express purpose of getting instruction on the instrument from the Highland corps quartered there, while another hill chieftain has bespoken the genuine article direct from Edinburgh."

The preference evinced by the Hindus for Scottish music before the music of other European nations, is quite intelligible, says Mr. Engel, and does not require comment. We may, however, notwithstanding his curt way of disposing of the matter, account for it in a very satisfactory way. From a very early period the inhabitants of India have used an instrument, called by them the Taurti, which is a sort of bagpipe with the tone of a bassoon, as we learn from M. Sonnerat, a French traveller, who visited the country in the middle of the last century. Their ears were, therefore, familiar with the sound of the Scotch pipes and they were delighted to find brother musicians among their conquerors.

Pennant attributes the invention of the bagpipe to the Danes,*

* *Tour in Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 302.

but why should the remote Asiatics possess such an instrument, if it were not indigenous with them? We know that the ancestors of the Danes came from Asia at a very remote period, and it is far more probable that they should have brought their pipes with them than that they should have invented them after they had settled in Denmark. On a fine basso-rilievo of Grecian sculpture now in Rome, there is a figure of a man playing on an instrument exactly resembling the ancient Highland bagpipe, which seems to indicate that it was known to the Greeks, and that the Romans derived it from them. There is no doubt that the latter commonly used it. Walker cites the following lines (which he attributes to Virgil, but erroneously) descriptive of a piper playing:

"Et cum multifari Tonus cui *Tibia buxo*,
Tandem post epulas et pocula multicalorem
Ventriculum sumpsit, buccasque inflare rubentes
Incipiens, oculas aperit, ciliisque levatis
Multetiesque alto flatum pulmonibus haustum
Utrem implet, cubito vocem dal *Tibia presso*,
Nunc huc, nunc illuc, digito saliente."

A figure of the utricularius, a bagpipe, is to be seen on one of Nero's coins. Mr. Pennant, from an antique discovered at Richborough, in Kent, (England,) has proved that the Romans introduced the bagpipe into Britain at a very early period, and he suggests that the Caledonians, who inhabited the northern portion of the island, and had frequent intercourse with the Danes, may have communicated the knowledge of it to the latter. In like manner the Irish became acquainted with it. It is certainly not indigenous to these: but it prevailed in the highlands of Scotland from the time of the early invasions of the Romans. The Highlanders adopted it immediately and *con amore*, and it has ever been grateful to their ears, especially in time of war. Robertson, in his "Inquiry into the Fine Arts," (v. 1,) says "it is the voice of uproar and misrule, and the music calculated for it seems to be that of real nature and rude passion." The Scots have always used it to rouse their courage to battle. In his description of the battle of Waterloo, Byron alludes to this:*

* *Childe Harold*, cant. 3, stanza xxvi.

"And wild and high the 'Cameron's gathering' rose!
 The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn's hills
 Have heard, and heard, too, have her Saxon foes!
 How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills,
 Savage and shrill! But, with the breath which fills
 Their mountain pipe, so fill the mountaineers
 With the fierce native daring which instils
 The stirring memory of a thousand years;
 And Evan's, Donald's fame rings in each clansman's ears!"

The bagpipe was the solace of the Scottish chieftain; and there was a college for the education of pipers in the Isle of Skye. Yet the Scotch never made any considerable improvements on the instrument. It was reserved for the Irish to give it its present complicated form, that is, two short drones and a long one, with a chanter, all of which are filled by a pair of small bellows, inflated by a compressive motion of the arm: the chanter has eight holes beginning with the lower D in the treble; the short drones tuned in unison to the fundamental E, and the large drone an octave below it. This was the favorite instrument of the Irish in the reign of Edward III.; but subsequently the harp came into greater favor, thus reviving the taste of the Irish of remote antiquity, who revered their harpers and bards. The English at one time used the bagpipe; but it did not take a very strong hold on their affection. Shakespeare alludes to it as something lugubrious.*

"*Falstaff*. I am as melancholy as a gib-cat or a lugg'd bear.
Prince Henry. Or an old lion, or a lover's lute.
Falstaff. Yea, or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe."

Chaucer in his *Miller's Tale*, speaks of the miller as able to play it:

"A baggepipe well couth he blewe and sounce."

But in later times this instrument was held in contempt by the English, probably on account of the large intermixture of German blood in them; for it is equally despised by the Germans. Butler, in *Hudibras*,† says of it contemptuously,

"Then bagpipes of the loudest drones,
 With snuff'ling, broken-winded tones,

* First part of *Henry IV.*, act. 1. sc. 2.

† Part ii. cant. ii.

Whose blasts of air in pockets shut,
Sound filthier than from the gut,
And make a viler noise than swine,
In windy weather, when they whine."

Yet it is said that George II. was so much delighted with the performance of an Irish gentleman on the bagpipes, that he ordered a medal to be struck for him.

Such specimens of the ancient Greek music as have been handed down do not give us an exalted notion of it: certainly it in no wise comes up to our expectations, when we call to mind the marvellous effects attributed to it by Greek historians and poets. Orpheus, Linus, Tyrtaeus, Museus, Timotheus, and others are described as performing miracles by means of it. That it chiefly consisted of intoning and singing in recitative there is little doubt, and its effect must therefore have been due more to the sonorous majesty of the language than to the airs or choruses. Their hands must have been noisy and given to producing uncouth sounds. How could the Spartans, trained as they were for war only, successfully cultivate music? They gave no encouragement to improvements in their musical instruments. Dr. Busby,* quoting Athenaeus and Boethius, gives an amusing instance of their rigid adherence to the customs established by Lycurgus. The celebrated Timotheus, of Miletus, the most eminent singer and musician of his time, (4th century B.C.) having visited Sparta, was invited to perform before an assembly of the people. Having accepted the invitation, he appeared before his audience with a lyre of eleven strings, being four more than the usual number. He had added the latter himself as an improvement; but he received such violent marks of disapprobation that he was forced to desist, and the following decree was passed: "Whereas Timotheus the Milesian, coming to our city, has dishonored our ancient music, and, despising the lyre of seven strings, has, by the introduction of a greater variety of notes, corrupted the ears of our youth; and by the number of his strings, and the novelty of his melody, has given to our music an effeminate and artificial dress, instead of the plain and orderly one in which it has

* *General History of Music*, vol. 1, p. 146.

hitherto appeared ; rendering melody infamous, by composing in the chromatic, instead of the enharmonic ; the kings and the Ephori have, therefore, resolved to pass censure upon Timotheus for these things ; and, further, to oblige him to cut all the superfluous strings of his eleven, leaving only the seven tones ; and to banish him from our city ; that men may be warned for the future, not to introduce into Sparta any unbecoming customs." Timotheus, we may add, was afterward pardoned.

The subject admits of indefinite expansion, but enough has been said, we think, to show that most of the popular music of the Celtic nations of Europe, and all the musical instruments of the present day, derive their origin from the Asiatics who lived four thousand years ago.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Inaugural Address of President Grant, March 4, 1869.*

2. *Two Speeches in Congress, etc.* March, 1869.

THERE has been a good deal of needless excitement since the election of General Grant, especially since the fourth of March. Our friends of the partisan daily press have dealt far too much in extremes. Those belonging to one party have indulged in the most extravagant praise, while those belonging to the other have been equally extravagant in their censure. One set of champions have a thousand arguments to prove that it is impossible for the republic not to flourish under the administration of Grant ; another set is equally ready to demonstrate that if it do flourish it is only because it is impossible for any individual, no matter how much he may blunder, to prevent it. We are instructed on one side to regard the most indifferent or casual act of General Grant as a new proof of his superior skill in the art of government ; whereas our instructors on the opposite side are equally confident and conscientious in informing us that the same act is a new proof that he has no skill of any kind, or even common understanding !

It is idle to disguise the fact that this excites ridicule at home as well as abroad. Both adversaries claim to have reason

on their side, but at the same time both set it at defiance. They forget that eulogies or denunciations have no effect with sensible people when it is evident that, at best, they are premature. It was very well to think at the proper time that General Grant would make a better president than Mr. Seymour, his opponent. We thought so ourselves, and we urged his claim accordingly; nor do we entertain a different opinion now. When General Grant first got the command of our armies in the field, we had no particular praise to bestow upon him; but after he had gained great victories none bestowed it on him more freely; none were more willing to rank him among the most illustrious chieftains.

We now regard him as on trial, just the same as he was when first made commander-in-chief of the Union armies, but with this important difference, that he has now a much better prestige in his favor than he had then. He has proved before the world that he is a faithful public servant, and a true patriot, as well as a great general; most cheerfully do we give him credit for all this; but here we must stop until he has had time to show what he is capable of as the chief magistrate of the republic. Thus far he has done nothing worthy of particular praise or blame; he has certainly done nothing which ought to be regarded by any party or clique as evidence of unfitness for the high position he occupies.

It would be for the credit of both parties to bear these facts in mind. We mistake Grant's character very much if he is not far too shrewd, and possessed of too much of the frankness of the soldier, to be much influenced by those premature eulogies. Were it otherwise it would not be very hard for him to learn that they do not amount to much; a very slight exercise of the memory would be sufficient. He cannot forget that even Andrew Johnson was once extravagantly praised by the very pens and tongues which now abuse and vilify him. At no time did we ever think highly of Mr. Johnson; we never considered him qualified to be the chief magistrate of this great and enlightened nation; but we have always thought that for the sake of his office, if for no other reason, he should at least have been treated with ordinary courtesy. But has he been treated so by those whom he displeased or disappointed?

Could the meanest alderman of a country town, convicted of robbing his constituents, have been more grossly abused on his retirement from office?

Nor has President Johnson been peculiar in this respect, except in regard to his impeachment; several other presidents were praised quite as extravagantly as General Grant has been since his election, and they have been quite as much abused at the close of their career as Andrew Johnson. No president since the time of Washington enjoyed so much immunity in this respect as Jackson, but this was not on account of his great abilities, or his undoubted patriotism; he owed it vastly more to the indomitable fearlessness and inflexibility of his character.

General Taylor was as honest and patriotic as he; none could question the courage of the hero of Monterey and Palo Alto. Accordingly he was lauded to the skies. His election was still more triumphant than that of General Grant. As a general he was compared to Hannibal and Scipio, as well as to Wellington and Napoleon; and as a ruler he was compared to Pericles and Leonidas; but he was not two months in the White House when even those who were chiefly instrumental in electing him scoffed at him, and denounced him as an imbecile! No candid person who remembers the facts will deny that had he lived to the end of his term he would in all probability have been treated with almost as much contumely as Pierce or Buchanan, or even Johnson. It was fortunate for the good old soldier's feelings, if not for his reputation, that he had only been some sixteen months in office when he died.

Such are the examples, such the warnings, which General Grant has before him. Are we to suppose that he will not profit by them? Will the partisan champions on either side make no allowance for the increased intelligence of our people? Do they imagine that the latter are as credulous now as they were twenty, twelve, eight, or even four years ago? We do not believe that General Grant is unmindful of the lessons of the past, or of what becomes the head of the nation at the present. We gave our reasons in full for this faith in our last September number, showing what the experience of the world has been as to the difference between great military chieftains and mere politicians in those instances in which both have in

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turn been invested with the supreme power by the people.

It is because mere politicians are always partisans that they either become tyrants, or the tools of their party, when placed in power; and thus it was that we opposed Horatio Seymour. That it was not on account of his politics was sufficiently evident from our having cheerfully admitted that Mr. Hoffman possessed in a high degree the essential qualities and qualifications which Mr. Seymour so obviously and notoriously lacked. The former had proved, as mayor of New-York, that he was not a mere partisan, but a man of enlightened, liberal views, capable of discharging the functions of a chief magistrate with becoming dignity; whereas the latter had proved, as governor of New-York, that he was nothing but a partisan, a man of contracted, bigoted views, utterly incapable of discharging any functions above those of an alderman, with either dignity or decorum.

If it is rare to find a mere politician, invested with power, actuated by any nobler motives than those of the tyrant or the party tool, it is quite as rare to find a great general a partisan. Wellington was, indeed, a partisan for a time; he allowed himself to be so far influenced by party feeling as to give all the opposition in his power to Catholic Emancipation. But he soon became convinced that this was unworthy of him, and with the frankness and generosity of a soldier he made amends to the cause of justice and liberty of conscience—admitted that he had been wrong, and exercised all his influence both with his party and his sovereign until the bigoted and oppressive statute he had formerly sought to protect and perpetuate, was declared null and void. It should also be remembered that when Wellington acted in a partisan spirit he was not at the head of the British nation, as Grant is at the head of the American nation. When Napoleon I. was at the head of the French nation, whether as consul or emperor, he was never a partisan. No one ever heard him address any class of the French people as republicans, democrats, or imperialists. At home and abroad, in the moment of glory or of adversity, he invariably addressed them as Frenchmen. At Marengo, at Austerlitz, and at Jena, his speech was this:

"Frenchmen! the victory is ours!"* But had he pursued a different course he could never have been the great conqueror he was, not to mention his being consul or emperor; since a great national army must necessarily be composed of all parties and sects, especially when a large part of it has to be raised by conscription. A general who knows how to command must address himself to feelings which are more or less common to his whole army; if he is a partisan or a bigot, he is competent at best only to command those belonging to his own party or sect.

If General Grant be judged by this test, those inclined to be most censorious must admit that he is neither a partisan nor a bigot. Perhaps no other general since the time of Hannibal commanded a more heterogeneous army. There is not a nationality or a creed, in Europe or America, which was not represented in Grant's army; but we have yet to learn that he has shown any favor to any one above the rest, or that he has yet prevented any one from being promoted or otherwise rewarded for his bravery and courage, on account of his nationality or his political or religious creed.

But partisanship would be a still more fatal error in his present position. As a general he had charge only of the Union army; now he has charge of the whole republic. He is not the chief magistrate of a section of the country; still less is he the chief magistrate of any party or clique, but of the whole country, of all parties and cliques; and he has solemnly sworn, accordingly, to discharge his duties in the manner which is best calculated in his judgment to promote the interests of the whole nation, without regard to section or party. Now, need we say, that just in proportion as he acts in accordance with this principle, will he prove himself competent for his position and worthy of it? If, upon the other hand, he would hold men to be good, bad, or indifferent, according as they are called radicals, republicans, war-democrats, copperheads, etc.—a theory which we by no means accept—we should readily come to the conclusion that although an excellent general in time of war he has yet to learn to be a statesman.

The position of the President of the United States for the

* "Français! la victoire est à nous."

time being, is often compared to that of the king or queen of England. Before the passage of the absurd Tenure-of-Office bill, the two positions were quite similar, as indeed they ought to be, and were evidently intended to be, so far as the exercise of power was concerned, by the great founders of the republic. But this bill placed the President of the United States exactly in the position in which the Council of Ten placed the doge of Venice, a short time before the fall of the republic. In the degenerate days of Venice the doge was a mere instrument in the hands of the oligarchy ; they used him to sign their decrees ; he could do nothing of himself. He might nominate persons whom he thought eligible for office, but it rested with the immaculate council to say whether they could be appointed or not. If in the plenitude of their magnanimity they accepted the nominations, those appointed were entirely independent of the doge ; no matter how incompetent or even dishonest he found them, he could not remove them without the consent of the oligarchy, exactly as in the case of the president of the United States, under the provisions of the Tenure bill.*

We have shown more than once that this bill destroyed all similarity between the government of the United States and all constitutional governments, including that of the Swiss republic, as well as of England ; since every other government allows its chief, whether he be called a king or a president, at least to appoint his own ministers, and to dispense with their services whenever he thinks proper. Nay, we have shown that the prime minister of England is allowed vastly more power.†

But by extending the comparison we may learn something more important still. There is no such odious and unpatriotic principle recognized in England, as "To the victors belong the spoils." Queen Victoria is not the queen of whigs, tories, or radicals, but the queen of England and of the whole English people ; it would be highly derogatory to her to show the least favor to one party more than to another. According-

* Vide N. Q. R. No. XXXII., art. The Venetian Republic and its Council of Ten.

† *Ibid.* No. XXXII., art. Impeachment of the President.

ly a tory premier is just the same to her as a whig premier, and *vice versa*; she may, indeed, have her secret preferences, but she must not manifest them, on pain of bringing discredit on her reign. This week she allows her tory minister to confer all the honors and substantial favors he likes on his tory friends; next week she allows her whig minister to be equally friendly and generous to his whig friends. The king of Belgium pursues exactly the same course; so does the king of Prussia; so indeed does every king who claims to be constitutional; and should the head of a republic be less liberal or more prone to favoritism than the head of a monarchy? If he should, what a mockery it is to call a republic a popular government! What a delusion to pretend to the people that they are entitled to, and must enjoy, equal rights!

But was this the course of the great Pericles? Was it the course of the still greater Washington? The illustrious chief-magistrate of the Athenian republic wielded much more power than the Spartan kings, or indeed any of the kings of his time. But was he only the chief of a faction? Did he do nothing without considering whether it would please or displease a certain clique? When he wanted advice would he consult with none but members of the party that elected him? Did he not, on the contrary, set a higher value on the advice of Anaxagoras, the philosopher, than on that of all the politicians of his time? In short, so scrupulous was he in his desire to treat all parties and factions alike, that even in choosing architects and sculptors for the great works which have contributed so much to the glory of Athens, he took care that all parties should be represented as equally as possible consistently with paying due regard to superior merit. The course of Washington need not be described here; suffice it to say that it was worthy of the Father of his Country.

We do not expect Grant to be a Pericles or a Washington; but we expect him to act honorably and manfully; we expect him to have a will of his own and thoughts of his own—not a partisan will or partisan thoughts. Far be it from us to say that he ought to set Congress at defiance; but we maintain that he should not be the tool of any party, either in Congress or out of it. None can say that we could expect any benefit to

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ourselves personally, from urging this independent, impartial course on the president ; although there are democrats to whom we are indebted for many kindnesses, the number of republicans to whom we are indebted is twenty-fold greater. But we like to see our political system elevated to such a degree that our best citizens—those who now shun it as a loathsome thing—will be proud to take a part in it ; and it is certainly our wish, also, that one who, like General Grant, has merited the everlasting gratitude of his country, by his bravery and patriotism, and by his acknowledged genius as a commander, should not allow the politicians of any party or faction to sully his fair fame, and degrade him to their own level by inducing him to become a vulgar partisan.

There is no danger, we trust. Nor have we any fault to find with the president's present cabinet. We think that every member of it should be allowed a fair trial before he is condemned by any party. As for Mr. Fish, we are of opinion that if there are any men better qualified for the important position to which he has been appointed, they are very few. In his case at least, Grant has fully complied with the precept of Plato that no share in government should be allowed to the ignorant.* Mr. Fish is not merely a graduate of Columbia College ; he has never ceased to be connected with that excellent institution ; even at this moment the call by the chief of the nation to serve his country, finds him occupying the honorable position of chairman of the board of trustees of his *alma mater*. For the rest, his character is known ; no one has served a term at Albany as governor of the state with a reputation so perfectly unsullied.

That Mr. Stewart is an honest, upright man none are more willing to acknowledge than we, but we confess we had serious doubts as to his fitness for the treasury department. Of his superior knowledge of the dry-goods business there could be no question ; and it is equally unquestionable that there are few men living, in any country, that have a more thorough knowledge of the art or science of making money. But to surpass the wealth even of a Cœsus, and to manage the finan-

* *Vide Plato's Lævæ*, b. iii., c. 10.

cess of a great nation, are very different things. The former is the work of a business man, the latter that of a political economist—a philosopher.

Who are the greatest political economists? Are they not the reverse of millionaires? Take Adam Smith, for example. The humble professor of Edinburgh and writer for the "Edinburgh Review" found it difficult to subsist on his slender salary while preparing his "Wealth of Nations," a work destined to immortalize him. But although in his palmiest days he had no wealth himself, he has done the world more good than if he could have distributed twenty millions a year among the poor. Buckle, an excellent authority, affirms that "Adam Smith contributed more, by the publication of this single work, *toward the happiness of man*, than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account."

We might pass in review all the other great political economists of ancient and modern times, also the most eminent ministers of finance, without finding a millionaire or even a successful business man among either class. Still Mr. Stewart might have proved an excellent financial minister, although we entirely agree with those senators who, while they had no dislike to the man, did not think the presumption in favor of his success sufficiently strong to justify the repeal of a wise and salutary law. We do not believe that Mr. Stewart would have acted in accordance with the ancient fable of the town in danger of a siege, and maintained in his reports that the best way to enrich a nation is to overflow it with dry goods; but we think that, upon the whole, Mr. Boutwell is better qualified for the office by his experience as a public servant, and his knowledge of political economy, than Mr. Stewart.

Mr. Boutwell's appointment is also in accordance with the Platonic precept. Like Mr. Fish he has always taken a part, more or less active, in the great cause of education. Further than this we cannot say, but if he prove as able a financial minister as Mr. McCulloch, and present us such masterly reports as those of that gentleman, we shall have no fault to find.* The new

* *Vide N. Q. R.* for December, 1867. Art., Management of our Finances—Ruinous Influence of Paper Money.

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secretary is, doubtless, aware that if his predecessor has for certain reasons been abused at the close of his administration of the treasury, he is liable to receive a similar reward himself, no matter how faithfully and ably he may discharge his duties.

That General Schofield would have administered the war department ably and faithfully, none, we believe, who know the gentleman have the least doubt; and we are assured*that none think more highly of his qualifications for the office than President Grant. But it was General Schofield's own wish to retire; and we are inclined to believe what seems to be the general opinion, that a better substitute for him could not have been found than General Rawlins. Secretary Borie may prove a more active and energetic man than Secretary Welles, but although the former stands high in the estimation of those qualified to judge of his fitness, he cannot prove a more faithful or a more honest public servant than the latter. Upon the whole, then, we may repeat that the present prospects of a good administration are highly favorable.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES LETTRES.

The Rightful Heir. A Drama in Five Acts. By the author of "Richelieu," etc. As first performed at the Lyceum Theatre, October 3, 1868. 16mo. pp. 61. London, 1869.

THE world is always loath to believe that one man can do many things well. The element of envy in our nature makes us reluctant to acknowledge superiority in others. When compelled to accord excellence to a person in any direction, we feel that he is our debtor for this recognition of his claims. If, not content with the praise we have accorded him, he asks our commendation for something quite different, a feeling akin to resentment possesses us. But this feeling, though natural, proceeds from our selfishness. We forget that we are indebted to genius for whatever it gives us, and that our praise is not more due to the able author than to ourselves—that a frank recognition and full appreciation of his claims do us more good than they do him. We always do wrong when we attempt to strike a balance with an author, charging our praise against his work. The gifts of genius are to be received as a Christian accepts the bounties of heaven, not as something we can pay for by our praise or our gratitude, but the praise and the gratitude are due to ourselves, and, like the gifts of genius and the bounties of heaven, should be spontaneous, given because we cannot help giving them; otherwise they are of no value. But we are sometimes startled by the necessity of acknow-

ledging that an author who is excellent in one department of literature, is deserving of high praise for works indicating ability of quite another kind.

Sir E. Bulwer, now Lord Lytton, has appeared before the public in what are, apparently, very different characters, and has compelled a more or less reluctant admission of his claims to excellence in all these departments. He demands praise as novelist, dramatist, poet, and historian. As a novelist his claims were early admitted, and have been established upon an enduring basis by a great number of works. In poetry, such works as "The New Timon" and "The Lost Tales of Miletus" cannot be characterized as failures. His dramatic writings, "Richelieu," "The Lady of Lyons," and "Money," have achieved distinguished success by representations upon the stage. Making an attempt to analyze his powers, to get at the core of the man, to understand the quality of his genius, we do not find his success so astonishing nor his versatility so great as we at first supposed. As a poet he cannot be accorded a high rank. He is a master of the versifying art and of construction, but the latter power belongs to him in his quality of dramatist. He lacks genuine poetic passion. What he has of that requisite is rather assumed for artistic purposes than the spontaneous overflow of his own nature. We admire his poems, but they do not move us; they appeal to our intellect, rather than to our feelings. Consequently, they do not sway us, nor elevate our souls like the outpourings of the true poet.

What of history Bulwer has written displays little power that is not exhibited in his historical novels. Considering him as novelist and dramatist, we find little in the latter that is not included in the former, except the art of writing blank verse, and a knowledge of the requirements of the stage. In the construction of his novels and of his dramatic plots the same features are apparent. His constructive ability is, indeed, his distinguishing power, and is exhibited alike, and with the same general traits, in his novels, his poems, and his dramas. In all his costumes, the man is still visible as the artistic romancer. The power of thus showing himself in different aspects is due to his great industry in constructing robes in which to array his form. His are not complete metamorphoses, but exhibitions of the same features in different lights. The changes are not so entire that we do not recognize the man who first appeared before us.

As a dramatist Lord Lytton is rather brilliant than powerful. His plays are always good, but never great. While less faulty than those of the great dramatists, they lack the grandeur of the latter. Their chief excellence is their admirable form and their adaptedness to stage representation. They are better fitted for the stage than the closet. His plots are always interesting, bringing into action the same qualities that are required for planning his novels. Some of his characters are highly interesting, but none of them are truly original. Richelieu is indeed a grand character; Pauline, in "The Lady of Lyons," is a very womanly, and Clara, in "Money," is a lovely one. Yet, with the exception of Richelieu, who can scarcely be considered as entirely original, his characters are all conventional. Not one of them is a new revelation. All say and do just what every one would ex-

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pect from them—or from any persons in similar circumstances. This is praise, as showing that these characters are natural, yet they seem to be copies rather than original studies. Great dramatists give us creations which are new as well as natural.

There is overmuch of the exquisite about Bulwer. He seems to dread soiling his dainty fingers with hammering among the lower strata of humanity. He misses much pure gold by not being willing to dig for it where others find an abundance. He gives us villains of the conventional type, but no common characters that are real. In the drawing-room he is quite at home among a certain class of ladies and fops. He can introduce knaves and gamblers there, if they come in proper dress. When he gives us what are intended for common characters, they always talk like exquisites. His fastidious ear cannot bear the homely language of the vulgar. There are no clowns on his stage. All his personages speak very much alike, for he recognizes no language that is not refined. He seems to ignore the fact that there are uncultivated people in the world. Through this exquisiteness he loses much of variety and power. He has little humor, but indulges in occasional sallies of drawing-room wit. Those authors who soar highest also dive deepest; Lytton prefers, or is only adapted to a middle course.

This last published work of Lord Lytton's is dedicated "To all friends and kinsfolk in the American commonwealth." We are sensitive to compliments as to censure, and our author will doubtless get his reward for so delicately giving us the former. This is not entirely a new work, we are told, but was rewritten from "The Sea Captain," produced many years ago, and afterward withdrawn from the stage and from circulation in printed form.

The plot of the "Rightful Heir" exhibits the author's powers of construction. An historical event—that of the delay of the Spanish armada by storms—is made subservient, but the characters and incidents are not historical. The course of dramatic events, and the stage directions, portray the times of Elizabeth, but the language throughout is Lytton's, and modern. Lady Montreville, a countess in her own right, has in girlhood secretly married a page of her father's household. Her husband commits suicide before this *mésalliance* becomes publicly known, and the infant son, the fruit of this union, is placed in the care of the village priest, Alton. The lady contracts a second marriage of which the fruit is one son, Lord Beaufort. Shame for her early indiscretion and love for her second son, who is to be her heir, make her neglect and almost forget her first offspring. Meanwhile, "The Rightful Heir," Vyvyan, who has been put into the hands of pirates to be got rid of, escapes death, and becomes a daring sailor, and in time the captain of her majesty's ship, the Dreadnought. Sir Grey de Malpas, a poor cousin, heir to the title and estate of Montreville, after the countess and her two sons, plots for the accomplishment of his desires. He is aided by Wrecklyffe, a pirate, to whom he had consigned the young Vyvyan to be made away with, and who is now actuated by feelings of revenge against the man who escaped from his clutches and gave him a wound of which he carried

the scar. Vyvyan loves a ward of Lady Montreville, Eveline, whom with her father he has once rescued from the Algerines. He goes to claim his bride, promised him by her father, and is made acquainted with his birth and rights as heir of Montreville. His half-brother, Lord Beaufort, also loves Eveline. Lady Montreville plans to get rid of Vyvyan by sending him off with her ward, leaving her second son in undisputed possession of his title and estates. Sir Grey de Malpas works upon the jealousy of Beaufort, and the thirst for revenge in Wrecklyffe, to remove all the obstacles in his own path to fortune. Vyvyan is suddenly called away by the news that the Spanish fleet has refitted and is on its way. Beaufort is ignorant of their relationship, and fired by jealousy attacks Vyvyan while on the way to his ship. Wrecklyffe is lying in wait to murder the sea-captain if Beaufort fails to do so. Vyvyan and Wrecklyffe both disappear over a precipice. A year passes in which nothing is known by his mother or affianced of the fate of Vyvyan. Lord Beaufort, supposing himself a murderer, is consumed with remorse. The plot of De Malpas has failed, inasmuch as he believes Vyvyan dead by his brother's hand; the non-appearance of Wrecklyffe affords him now the desired opportunity to set the law at work, and remove the remaining heir. He manages to excite suspicion that Vyvyan has been murdered. A search is instituted and a skeleton is found at the base of the cliff, and a plume and a gem which are identified as having belonged to the missing man. Beaufort is accused of the murder, and with his mother is brought before a magistrate. Everything works satisfactorily for Sir Grey de Malpas's plans, when the approach of Essex, with a retinue, is announced. A knight of his train enters the hall of justice, and proves to be Vyvyan. He had fallen over the precipice with Wrecklyffe, but it was the latter who was killed and whose bones had been produced. Believing himself dishonored by his failure to reach his vessel before it sailed, Vyvyan had concealed his existence from his friends, joined Essex, and won the golden spurs of knighthood. All is now discovered, truth prevails, virtue is rewarded, the unnatural mother and the villainous poor cousin are properly punished—the one by remorse and exposure, the other by the violated law. This denouement is highly artistic.

In the characters there is nothing particularly striking or original. In Lady Montreville, the conflict of a mother's love, intensified by pride and ambition for her two sons, whose interests are opposed, is well portrayed. Hers is the best-drawn character in the play, and the only one which is really interesting as a study. Vyvyan is a noble-hearted, daring sailor; Beaufort, a spoiled boy; Eveline a tender true-hearted girl—but neither character is new. Sir Grey de Malpas excites compassion as well as detestation. Wrecklyffe is simply a villain, not at all distinctively portrayed. It seems to us that for all he does or says that contributes to the development of the plot, he might as well have been omitted. It is only his bones that are of real service, and the author could have dispensed with them, or at least have exhibited them and all other acts of this man which serve his purpose, without introducing the living individual.

The language is like the author, generally almost "faultily faultless." It is Lord Lytton's language throughout—he cannot make his characters speak except with his own rhetoric. Wrecklyffe makes as dainty speeches as Lady Montreville, and no one fails to speak with purity and elegance. For instance, the rough pirate, Wrecklyffe, says:

"Winter creeps on him;
Lightning hath stricken me." (p. 9.)

Which is far too beautiful a thought to be uttered by such lips. Again, he says:

"First, yellow pestilence, whose ghastly wings
Guard, like the fabled griffin, India's gold;
Unequal battle next; then wolfish famine;
And, lastly, storm, (rough welcome home to England,)
Swept decks from stem to stern; to shore was flung
A lonely pirate on a battered hulk!
One wreck rots stranded; you behold the other." (p. 10.)

"Aloud with eager strides and clamorous voices—
A surge of tumult, wave to wave rebooming—
How all the might of Parma and of Spain
Hurried its thunders on!" (p. 33.)

This is elevated almost to the regions of sublimity, but it does not belong to a vile outlaw and murderer. There may be grandeur in the rough, passion-tossed villain, when contemplated from Lord Lytton's drawing-room, but there is none in reality. Degradation of moral character never leaves sublimity of soul.

The language is generally tersely dramatic, and shows the author's wonderful powers of word-painting. Yet he is not sufficiently a poet to give us passages which are an inspiration to the reader as well as to the writer, and which are treasured in our memories as choice stores. His fine passages seem rather the product of study than of high poetic impulse. They contain no element which is above the reach of thought. Still there are passages whose beauty shames the best efforts of many latter-day poets.

"In the sun left me still, I clasp a world
Of blossoming hopes which flower beneath my love,
And take frank beauty from the flattering day.
In his princely smile
How the air brightens!" (p. 13.)

"He stands amidst the darkness of my thought
Radiant as Hope in some lone captive's cell." (p. 15.)

"And there the lips
Where, till this hour, the sad and holy kiss
Of parting lingered, as the fragrance left
By angels, when they touch the earth and vanish." (p. 17.)

This poetical language, so beautiful in itself, seems stilted when so uniformly employed in such a work. There are a few attempts at wit and humor, uttered by Sir Grey de Malpas, but they are of rather a ghastly sort.

How he Won Her. A sequel to "Fair Play." By MRS. EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH. Author of "Fair Play," "The Widow's Son," "The Bride of Llewellyn," etc. etc. 16mo, pp. 512. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

BEFORE proceeding to discuss the merits of this book, we must ease our conscience for having put down the above number of pages. It is a misrepresentation, to call it by no worse name, but one for which we are not responsible. The book does not contain 512 pages. It is a characteristic trick of the enterprising publishers thus to falsify the old adage that "figures do not lie," by making their issues appear to contain more matter than they do. The first numbered page in this book is 24; but the trickery in the present instance is modest in comparison with some we have seen from the same house.

Many think it a very pleasant occupation to review books—the conceit of being good critics being even more general than that of ability to write books. The reviewer, it is thought, has only to read—a very pleasant occupation generally—and to write out his opinions. The task of reviewing good books is indeed pleasant enough, but it is not the good ones only which it is our duty to notice. In attempting to inform the public regarding the character of current literature, it is often incumbent on us to warn it against publications of a degrading tendency, either in morals or taste. To do this we must read before we can condemn, and it pains us to say of the productions of a lady that any person of good taste, who has looked into one of Mrs. Southworth's extensive series of novels, can imagine what are our sufferings when compelled to peruse such a work as that now before us. Sir Humphry Davy is said to have ruined his health and nearly destroyed his life in trying the effect on himself of certain chemical substances during his scientific researches. We have an unbounded admiration for his self-sacrifice to science; we do not ask that from our readers, but we certainly think ourselves entitled to their sympathy. We confess that we have not read all of this volume—we cannot believe that our duty to the public demands so much of us, and we are sure that when we have given our readers a few specimens they will be ready to admit that we have been as thorough in our examination as they could reasonably expect or wish.

The late war was a godsend to authors like Mrs. Southworth and publishers like the Petersons. Previously, those who wrote fiction for the class of readers for whom productions like this are intended, generally took for their motto Keats's line,

"Lo! I must sing a tale of chivalry."

Their materials were found all ready for use, in the pages of Sir Walter Scott and the writers of fiction of mediaeval times. They could talk of camps and courts, of jousts and tournaments, of gallant knights and high-born dames, of waving plumes, richly caparisoned steeds, and shattering lances. Dramatic situations were plenty, and when appropriate exclama-

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tions were wanted they could write, "Ha! villain!" "Yield thee, miscreant!" and "Die, traitor!" Our civil war has given these writers new tragic and romantic material. They can now talk of "drums, and guns, and wounds;" if we continue the quotation and say that the present writer talks about them "like a waiting gentlewoman," we judge it can be no cause of offence.

The staples of popular fiction with us nowadays are "brave defenders of our country," "the glorious Union cause," heroic deeds, rebels, guerillas, marches, battles, rebel prisons, contrabands, hospitals, hospital nurses, and sisters of mercy, with the due leaven of love. The author of the work in hand uses all these materials and some others which are unique and original, as we shall see. She even improves, in this respect, on Beecher's "Norwood," which is saying a great deal.

To begin at the beginning—which the publishers did not in numbering the pages—our authoress places on her title-page two lines of poetry, one a misquotation of Shakespeare; the other is credited to Collins, whereas it was written by Dryden. But the lady has no need to borrow wisdom from either Shakespeare or Dryden. She has a "mind of her own" in the ordinary sense of the phrase, at least. Read this if you doubt it:

"We women often weep most when we are happiest, and—ah, yes! Heaven knows, smile most when we are most wretched!" (p. 30.)

We are startled by the assurance that Heaven knows that fact, and has perhaps commissioned our author to reveal it to the male portion of mankind. Were it not for this supposition we should doubt that it was best to put us in possession of a secret which would make all of us who are kind-hearted at once take measures to set our wives, and daughters, and sweethearts to crying. Hamlet says .

"A man may smile, and smile, and be a villain."

But a woman, it seems, smiles most when most wretched. For one reason we are glad to know the fact; we shall always hereafter—unless we can be so daring as to doubt the assurance of our author—look with suspicion upon a smiling face, for our new principles compel us to believe that those who are most wretched are most wicked. Henceforth give us tears, and happiness, and virtue; no more sweet smiles which show hypocrisy and sorrow.

The principal female character of the story is at once clown and heroine. It is a new idea to create a female clown, but it comes with an especial grace from the authoress thus to transfer such characters to her own sex. This clown-heroine is of a very respectable family, the daughter of Major Fielding, and moves in good society. She calls her father "pap," and speaks of him in this manner :

"All right. I'll not say anything to spoil the dear old boy's digestion or disturb his night's rest." (p. 63.)

"Leave me alone, Ninie! I know my dear old governor; he'll soon be all right." (p. 67.)

We are further informed, that in his departure to join his regiment, "Elvie

had admonished him to keep his face clean, and his hair combed, and his shoes tied, and obey his superior officers, write home once a week, and be a good old boy generally." (pp. 81-82.) After he is gone she says to her friend :

" 'Why may I not draw what comfort I can from the reflection that the dear old fello fagged me almost to death while he was here? Bless the tall baby I he never knew where he left his boot-jack, or what he did with his spectacles, or how to find his gloves.' " (p. 82.)

If this character is drawn from real life, Young America certainly has his counterpart in the other sex. Here are further specimens of the wit and humor of this lady and of the author :

" 'You are down, I see; but blest if I know whether you have fallen down, or whether you have crouched down for a fatal spring.' " (p. 87.)

" 'Oh, gammon ! ' " (p. 111.)

This, we hope, is enough of facetiae. If our readers are not content we assure them that the book abounds in such passages. We will give some extracts of a different sort; specimens of the heroic language of the work :

" 'And forth from the cover of the pine woods leaped a band of fierce brigands, brandishing their bayonets.' " (p. 129.)

Possibly our readers may be as much surprised as were the band of Unionists thus attacked, to learn that brigands, of whom they have read in books of European travel and fiction, have appeared in America in the guise of rebel soldiers.

" 'Surrender, you blasted Yankees, before we make crows' meat of you!' shouted a gigantic guerilla, who seemed to be the leader of the band, leaping into the centre of the arena.' " (p. 130.)

" 'Afterwards we will know what to do with them,' roared the guerilla leader.' " (p. 132.)

" 'Thunderation! Why don't you make haste and dress yourselves,' roared Hutchinson.' " (p. 134.)

Of course a gigantic brigand, who made such fearful leaps, could do nothing less than roar. Here is another specimen of wisdom :

" 'The roses will bloom again in spring, and hope revive again in heaven, Wing,' said Colonel Rosenthal, laying his hand kindly on the boy's head.' " (p. 231.)

With which sapient assurance we hope he, or she—for it was a woman in disguise—was reassured, and could hope for the hope that was to be restored in a blessed future. For examples of a striking use of language with which the work abounds, we have, "I laid down to die," (p. 27;) "for not roaring at travellers like the other hackmen did," (p. 305;) "Whatever could have made you think," (p. 421;) and "every one seemed dum-founded," (p. 426.) These expressions are put into the mouths of the most refined characters (if that adjective is admissible) in the book, or, like the last quotation, are used by the author in narration. A delicate young lady says to her father, "My brother must have been—tremendously astonished and overjoyed." (p. 486.)

But we fancy our readers crying "Hold! enough!" and gladly forbear giving further specimens, except one for which we wish to thank the author. Speaking of the death of President Lincoln, she says: "The nation's holy sorrow is too sacred a subject to be treated here." (p. 480.) For which unexpected evidence of kindness we trust our readers will be duly grateful.

There are three heroines of this tale—nay four, for the wife of the rebel officer who is killed with him on the battle-field is to be considered one. The three on the Union side are all supposed to be refined ladies; judging from their position and character. One of them becomes a hospital nurse; the other two don male attire and join the army, doing many valorous deeds and getting captured by the rebels. One of them is called by her comrades the "destroying angel," on account, we are assured, of her "fiery impetuosity." They, of course, have plenty of love-adventures, as well as more heroic ones. One of them, the clown-heroine, is married twice during the progress of the story; her first husband, a rebel, kindly getting killed and leaving her a large fortune which she enjoys at last with a Union spouse. The story winds up with the marriage of the three heroines at the same time and place!

After all that has been done for the cultivation of the public taste, it is melancholy to know that such works as this are profitable to author and publishers. We have a list of some twenty-seven or twenty-eight works, by this author, issued by the same house, with abundance of similar twaddle from other pens. Who reads them? We answer in the words of Boileau,

"Un sot trouve toujours un plus sot qui l'admiré."

EDUCATION.

Circular Appeal. By the Sisters of the Visitation in charge of Mount de Chantal Academy, near Wheeling, West-Virginia. 1869.

We have seldom read a more eloquent or a more affecting appeal than this; and we are convinced that such has never been made to the American people in vain. We have never had the pleasure of seeing either Mount de Chantal, or any of the estimable ladies who have charge of it; but competent judges, Protestant as well as Catholic, speak in the highest terms of both. Independently of our implicit confidence in the judgment of ladies and gentlemen who have visited the institution, we have had opportunities ourselves of forming an estimate of the literary abilities of two of the Sisters belonging to the board of instructors, and our estimate is much higher than we are sure it would be agreeable to those good ladies to have us give expression to thus publicly. The same respectful regard for their feelings prevents us from mentioning their names.

If we were a Catholic, both our approbation and our reticence might be attributed to superstition; but it is well known that while we have the highest respect for the Catholic church for the good it has done, and is doing, and

have every disposition to render full justice, not only to its hierarchy, but to all its religious orders, male and female, we do not hold either its educational institutions, or the individuals engaged in conducting them, as by any means exempt from criticism. So far as our judgment enables us to do so we treat even the highest dignitaries according as we find them. We yield to none in profound esteem and respect for those prelates who combine learning, talent, and piety, with liberal, enlightened views. Upon the other hand we do not pretend to have the least admiration for those of the opposite character; nor shall we shrink from criticising them whenever we think the great cause of education may be benefited by an allusion or two to their favoritism, or servile obedience to one order of educators, their opposition to another, their exaggerated praise of what deserves no praise, but censure, etc.

It is for its real worth, then, that we call attention to the Academy of Mount de Chantal and the good it is doing, and not because it is conducted by the sisters, although it is certain that we are not the less friendly to it on this account. The ladies of this institution are engaged in a work which will command itself to every individual capable of a generous emotion, let his religious or political opinions be what they may. They have a superior institution, and all the educational appliances best calculated to command the patronage of the wealthy; but preferring to do much good rather than make much money, they devote a large department to the gratuitous education of young ladies and girls whose parents have been ruined by the war. In referring to this undertaking the sisters forcibly remark :

" However much one may deplore the causes that have led to the present destitute condition of those children, we feel assured that in their character of gifted and deserving American girls, *no person of heart will deny them in this hour of need either sympathy or aid as far as circumstances may justify."*

We are very sure that the facts only need to be known in order to justify the confidence of the good sisters in the generosity of our people; but we must make room for another passage from the "Appeal":

" Then in view of your own dear ones near you, *refuse us not a trifling cooperation* in the noble work we have begun. Aid us in any manner your good will may suggest, to build up an institution whose portals shall be open to *every deserving candidate for gratuitous education* in the vast but desolated South. Let there be no degeneracy in our young ladies of the present generation, for the want of those early educational advantages and female accomplishments, which ancestral wealth would have provided previous to our unfortunate civil war.

" To one fact especially we beg to call attention. To realize our undertaking, we have not to await the erection of a suitable edifice, nor are we in search of professors and teachers to preside over classes. Buildings and teachers are at hand, and every scholastic arrangement well organized, and all we ask is the means to support these gratuitous pupils in our midst. We, ourselves, are willing to devote to this noble work time, energy, talents, health, and *life itself*, and await our reward in another world. More than this is not ours to bestow, as we rely solely upon our labor for a support. The children confided to our care are by no means all of our *faith*—nor do we interfere with the religion of those who differ from us. Of pupils who have been admitted to our endowed scholarships, *more than one half* are daughters of non-Catholics, and, until they were received into our Academy, were entire strangers to us."

No observations that we could make would add any force to this appeal;

and, accordingly, we allow it to make its own impression, and produce its legitimate results without any comment of ours.

In another part of the present number of our journal, we assert that competent educators, whether male or female, are not afraid to have the institutions which they conduct visited by Protestants or Catholics. Of this fact we find an interesting illustration, in an article of three columns, in "Dwight's Journal of Music," from which we extract the following:

"With many others, *including the members of the Senate and Legislature of West Virginia*, I repaired to the Seminary of Mt. de Chantal, located near Wheeling, and conducted by the Sisters of the Visitation. The attraction consisted in the performance, by the pupils, of an operetta, 'The Miracle of the Roses,' by Luigi Bordese. Of the merits of the composition itself I shall not speak, save that it is written in the best Italian style, some of the choruses presenting fine contrapuntal effects. The action, too, does not concern us. What chiefly concerns us is the musical performance, and of that I cannot write sufficiently laudatory. It could be seen that each singer filled a sphere easily within her grasp, and I was convinced that the operetta was not prepared by dint of labor (it was only two weeks in rehearsal) for momentary effect, but that it was a *product of sound culture and positive knowledge*. Especially commendable was the singing of Miss Mena Waring, of Georgetown, D. C., and Miss Ella Gordon, of Parkersburg, W. Va. The last named child is scarcely more than fifteen years old, but has a rich, round, full, sweet, and sympathetic *contralto*.

"The vocal department in this school is under the guidance of Sister Mary Agnes Guburt, a former pupil of Perelli, of Philadelphia, and herself one of the most finished singers to be found anywhere. Her singing of the 'Happy Birdling' was remarkably fine. The system of education pursued here is *thorough*. The pupils are chained down to exercises, and only allowed to soar into more delectable regions when their wings are expanded. The greatest care is taken in disciplining the hands, and the getting rid of bad habits of vocalization. The taste, too, of the pupils is cultivated; classical compositions only are used, and among the modern, chiefly those of Heller. The idea of the composer is always pointed out, and frequently a Sister writes, and reads to the pupils, a critique and explanation of the piece, which she does very tastefully."

We trust that timid male professors and presidents like Father Sheen will profit by an example like this. But we readily admit that if disposed to take a few lessons in enlightened liberality and that sort of honest fearlessness inspired by conscious ability, it would not be necessary for him to go so far as Mount de Chantal. There is at least one of the accomplished ladies of the academy of the Sacred Heart at Manhattanville, who is fully capable of giving him all necessary instructions on these points. But the Wheeling Academy is in need of encouragement; it eminently deserves encouragement; and we are convinced it will receive it.

How to read Character; A new Illustrated Hand-Book of Phrenology and Physiognomy. For students and examiners. With a Descriptive Chart. Svo, pp. 191. New-York: Samuel R. Wells. 1869.

Our readers are aware that we are no believers in phrenology considered as a science, but we trust they are also aware that we are willing to recognize truth, let it appear in what form or under what name it may. In accordance with this principle we have always cheerfully admitted that the Messrs. Fowler & Wells have no slight claim on the more thoughtful classes of the American people. It by no means follows that because a theory which is capable of strongly interesting the human mind is erroneous, that its study or discussion does no good. The experience of all philosophers and scientific men proves the reverse. Although the alchemist did not dis-

cover the fabled stone destined to transmute the baser metals into gold, it is not the less true that in their unweared, enthusiastic search for it, they made discoveries quite as valuable. On the same principle, if Fowler & Wells have failed to convince the more enlightened portion of the public that the faculties of the mind are indicated by bumps, it is certain that they have not failed to make thinkers, by means of their books and periodicals, of many who would never have learned to think without their influence. We have always respect for men of whom this may be said, even while we criticise their theories.

But physiognomy is no new "ism." It is older than the time of Socrates, who, it is well known, gave the strongest testimony in its favor, after having been examined himself by a physiognomist who had no idea of the celebrity of the man whose faculties and propensities he was employed to describe from a careful examination of his face and features. But were there no truth in either phrenology or physiognomy, still the volume before us would be interesting for its ingenious arguments, and it would be worth reading for the undisputed facts embodied in those arguments.

Some of those of whose heads we have cuts illustrative of the principles of phrenology are complimented much more highly than the facts would justify. It would not be difficult to criticise several of these "representative men," but a little exaggeration of the importance of a few friends is a slight fault.

HISTORY.

An Illustrated History of Ireland, from the earliest period. By S. F. C.
Pp. 671. New York : Catholic Publication Society. 1868.

It has seldom been our privilege to examine a work that has more agreeably surprised us than this. We have read no fewer than twenty histories of Ireland from as many different pens, but not one of them has pleased us so well as this, not excepting that of Moore. In this fact, by itself, there is nothing remarkable, we are aware, since those writing at the present day are much more likely to obtain access to peculiar sources of information than those who wrote a hundred years, fifty years, or even twenty years ago. But that before us is not merely the production of a lady ; it is that of a nun or sister.

There is no need to deny that there has always existed a strong prejudice against histories written by women ; many such have, indeed, found publishers, but to the present day none have occupied a high rank. In short, if the world has ever had a female Thucydides, Livy, or Tacitus, the masculine authors have destroyed her work out of envy, or jealousy, so that there is no vestige of it left. But if there is a general impression that even professional female authors make but indifferent historians, what sort of histories would the public expect from nuns ? It will be admitted that a Protestant public at least, however liberal in other respects, would not expect a very satisfactory or reliable one from that source. Especially would this prejudice be entertained by those Protestants who are aware

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that the nuns live a much more secluded life in European countries than in the United States; and in no country are they so much secluded, or rather, in no country do they seclude themselves, so much as they do in Ireland. Now when we add that the author of the history before us is an Irish nun, it will be understood why it is that the superior merits of her work have surprised us.

It is certainly no surprise to us to find an Irish nun thoroughly educated, and possessed of literary talent of a high order; still less is it a surprise to us to find a nun liberal, kind and generous in her feelings, even toward heretics. All this, indeed, we were entirely prepared for. The question with us, in taking up the present volume, was, How could a sister of Kenmare Convent find time to collect all the materials necessary for a work of this kind, not to mention the various processes to which those materials have to be subjected before they assume their appropriate form, even in manuscript? How so much work has been accomplished we cannot say; we do not pretend to believe that miracles are performed at the present day, even in favor of the good sisters, whom Mohammedans as well as the most bigoted Protestants admit to be both an honor to their sex, and a blessing to the suffering poor of all denominations within the sphere of their influence. But no matter how the time was found for it, the new "Illustrated History of Ireland" is beyond all question an able performance. We do not merely say that the work is excellent or highly creditable, considered as that of a lady, or nun; it possesses those qualities, as compared with all the other histories of Ireland which we have read or examined; and on comparison with any history its merits will readily be acknowledged by all who are qualified to judge it.

The fair author not only evinces extensive research, but also sound erudition. She goes back to the most ancient records, but discriminates judiciously and keenly between what may be regarded as fabulous and that which is at least highly probable; at the same time, she does not forget that all nations have a certain love for traditions which have been handed down to them from generation to generation for many centuries, even when they are well aware that, to a certain extent at least, they must partake of the fabulous. Our author's style is always lucid, generally graphic and attractive; and not unfrequently she indulges, as if unknown to herself, in a strain of genuine eloquence. Here and there we have brief but comprehensive sketches of the orators, authors, statesmen, and warriors of Ireland, which serve as agreeable episodes. We should like to give some specimens of the author's style, but as the complete work is not expensive, we shall be excused for being unable to make room for more than one extract. We have marked some very choice passages, but we think none may be regarded as a fairer specimen than that which forms part of the good sister's description of Burke at the commencement of his career in London:

"It was one of those cases of suffering to which the most refined and cultivated minds are especially subjected—one of those instances which prove, perhaps, more than any other, that poor humanity has fallen low indeed. The master mind was there, the brilliant gems of thought, the acute power of reasoning, that exquisitely delicate sense of feeling, which has never yet been accurately defined, and which probably never will be—which waits for some

unseen mystic sympathy to touch it, and decide whether the chord shall be in major or minor key—which produces a tone of thought, now sublime, now brimming over with coruscations of wit from almost the same incidents; and yet all these faculties of the soul, though not destroyed, are held in abeyance, because the body casts the dull shadow of its own inability and degeneration over the spirit—because the spirit is still allied to the flesh and must suffer with it.” (p. 596.)

To the Irish in America this work must be particularly acceptable, but it should be read by all who take any interest in that beautiful but ill-fated island. No Protestant need suppose that because it is the work of a nun it must necessarily be sectarian and bigoted, for it is really neither one nor the other. On the contrary, one of the qualities which have recommended it to us most strongly is the liberal, conciliatory tone which pervades it throughout. We confess we also like it for its faithful pictorial illustrations of the antiquities of Ireland; that they are faithful we can testify from the experience and observation of nearly a quarter of a century spent among some of the most interesting of those antiquities. And far from having imbibed prejudices against convents or monasteries from the same opportunities, they have convinced us of the cruel injustice of accusing the inmates of either institutions of any conduct unworthy of Christians and philanthropists.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. *The Union Pacific Railroad Company. Chartered by the United States, etc., etc.* Pamphlet. pp. 32. New-York.
2. *Railroad Communication across the Continent, with an Account of the Central Pacific Railroad of California, etc., etc.* Pamphlet, pp. 32. New-York. 1868.

A railroad connecting the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards is a grand thing to talk about, and would no doubt be grand in reality could it be properly constructed and managed. We have had our imagination so fired with discussions and representations of the magnitude of such a work and the magnificence of its results that it would be no wonder if the scheme should have as great an influence upon the public as the famous Mississippi swindle with George Law, or the South Sea bubble. We hope that the results of the Pacific railroad enterprise will not involve so many in ruin as did its great prototypes. If its *finale* shall be less deplorable, however, it will not be owing to any lack of energy on the part of those interested in it to captivate the public imagination, and to induce liberal outlays of national and private capital. This “great national work” has been advertised unsparingly in all directions. Investments in its bonds have been represented as not only sure to bring most liberal returns, but an actual patriotic duty to assist in developing the immense resources of our great country. Editors and correspondents innumerable have been furnished with free passes—and we do not know exactly what else—over such portions of the road as were completed. Journals have been filled with glowing accounts of what was done and to be done, revealing to our over-

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whelmed imaginations a future of really awful magnificence. Several Bohemians have written books on the subject which have found a ready sale and put considerable sums in the pockets of the enterprising writers.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that the public should get excited over this matter, when not only journals and books were thus revealing the glories of a Pacific railroad, but when it was credibly informed that the government had taken a leading part in the work, and had granted millions upon millions of dollars in money, and lands of uncomputed value, to aid the project. Of course the people know well that they can place implicit confidence in the wisdom and probity of their representatives in Congress; they believed, of a surety, that all the money that could be wrung from them by taxation, and all our valuable public domain, should be freely given to aid this great work which is to furnish the key to untold national and private wealth in the future. That such measures as the Pacific railroad bills could be got through Congress by corrupt means; that such a thing as a lobby existed, was a suspicion not to be entertained for a moment. But this confidence in the immaculateness of our senators and representatives in Congress—whose like for wisdom and purity the world had not before seen—should not have prevented the people from exercising common-sense. If they had looked over the names of the men most prominent in proclaiming the virtue of the Pacific railroad schemes, they might have had a shrewd suspicion that it would be as well to keep their money in their pockets, at least for the present, as to be in haste to place it in the control of such parties. Who are those men? Generally, brokers of New-York and financial speculators not at all famous for public or private liberality. They are such men as Messrs. Fisk, Hatch, Cisco, and Huntington of this city, who are tolerably well known, to be sure, but not for anything that should make their direction of such a work and the management of its finances particularly satisfactory.

It would seem that the immense grants of government to aid this work should have excited suspicion when the people were further called upon to contribute from their private pockets—that having obtained such large amounts from government by means which they well knew how to employ, these schemers might have let private individuals go free. But they are insatiable. They could not even imitate the example of many highwaymen who robbed only the rich, but scorned to take his all from a man as poor as themselves. The grants of Congress, one would have thought, might have satisfied the rapacity of the most insatiable of New-York financial sharks. The acts of Congress authorizing the two companies who were to build a road to the Pacific, with branch connecting roads, granted first the right of way through the territories and all material necessary, including public lands for track, stations, depots, timber, stone, etc.; second, an absolute grant of twenty alternate sections, (equal to 12,800 acres,) per mile of the public lands through which the road runs; third, a special issue of the six per cent bonds of the United States proportioned to the length and difficulty of the line, and be delivered as the work progresses. Pursuant to these acts government has already appropriated *fifty millions*

of dollars to be divided between the Central Pacific and Union Pacific companies, and *ten millions additional* to the smaller branches.

The donation of land comprises a very large portion of some of the most valuable public domain. For the 1100 miles of the Union Pacific railroad, the amount thus freely given is 14,080,000 acres. It has been provided by law that the alternate sections retained by government on the line of this road, will not be sold for less than \$2.50 per acre. As these lands are rapidly increasing in market value the amount which the companies may finally receive from them, is beyond computation. This land-gift is absolute, and the companies are by it put in possession of immense wealth. The lands are set apart, and the bonds issued from time to time, upon the report of the United States commissioners that twenty consecutive miles of the road are completed. These commissioners are men appointed by government to look after its interests, regarding this road. They are, of course, presumed to have no personal interests conflicting with those of government. We know enough of the management of affairs in Washington, where money is involved, to have serious doubts as to the protection of the government interests in this matter. Representations have already been made to government, that the reports of the commissioners are not in all cases to be relied on.

Besides these stupendous grants in bonds and money, the companies are authorized to issue their own first mortgage bonds, to an amount equal to that of the bonds of the United States issued to them. By special act of Congress these bonds are made a lien prior to all claims of government. It is to advertise these bonds that the many statements in pamphlets, and journals, and placards on walls and fences, have been made by these companies. Has it never occurred to the public that the government might make a better use of its money, and bonds, than by thus aiding the schemes of private speculators?

What are the government and people likely to get for their outlays for the Pacific railroad? Not much, we fear. It seems now well settled, that the road will be positively useless for a great portion of the time, during winter, on account of obstruction from snows. The road is said to be so wretchedly constructed as to be of doubtful utility at any time. Notwithstanding the competition of the Pacific railroad, the stock of the ocean lines to California has not declined in market price. The managers of these lines have nothing to fear from the overland means of transit, and have no doubt of getting all the subsidies they want for carrying the United States mails.

We shall probably soon cease to hear of Pacific railroad stock. The bubble has been pricked already, and by those who were engaged in inflating it. It has been "diamond cut diamond" with these financial speculators, and the result has been to bring the matter before the courts of this city. The state of the contest between these worthy gentlemen our readers who are interested in the matter have doubtless informed themselves of through the journals.

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Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to the Stockholders, February, 1869. Philadelphia. 1869.

The public have a well-grounded fear of powerful corporations. We have got rid of hereditarily privileged classes, but we cannot well provide against abuses of the power which control of large capital gives. Yet great enterprises, requiring large outlay, can only be accomplished by the uniting of the capital of many individuals and the machinery of corporations. Such enterprises are our great transportation lines, and, indeed, all considerable internal improvements; for it is settled, in the minds of all thinking individuals, that the less government has to do with such works the better.

When such enterprises are so carried on as to benefit not only the stockholders but the public generally, those who thus manage them deserve a cordial recognition and candid acknowledgment of their ability and integrity. Such acknowledgment we believe to be due to the management of the great Pennsylvania Railroad Company whose twenty-second annual report is now before us.

The state of Pennsylvania owes a debt of gratitude to this company which her wisest public men are willing to acknowledge. Many years ago, imitating the example of New-York whose public works the genius of De Witt Clinton had rendered successful, the sister state had constructed extensive lines of transport at great expense. The state government was not at that time, nor for many succeeding years, remarkable for honesty. The public works furnished convenient tools for political intrigue and private peculation, and these opportunities were diligently improved. In consequence, the commonwealth became saddled with an oppressive debt, which was constantly increased by means of these works. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company became a power in the state, and, backed by public opinion, succeeded in effecting a purchase of the politicians' mine. The leak in the treasury was thus stopped, the old state debt was expunged, and the development of the vast resources of the commonwealth was accelerated by the judicious management of the company, who made these formerly expensive lines profitable to themselves, and beneficial to the public.

The report indicates a most prosperous condition of the company's affairs. The earnings for the past year were \$17,233,497.31; expenses, \$11,860,983.88; leaving a balance of net earnings of \$5,372,513.43, an increase compared with last year of \$893,340.95. The gross revenues for the year are equal to \$48,138.26 per mile of the main road. The increase over the preceding year, in the number of passengers carried, was 399,712. The number of tons of freight carried was 4,722,015, being an increase of 421,477 tons over the former year.

The Philadelphia and Erie railroad was projected as a rival of the Pennsylvania in securing a great transit line between Philadelphia and the West. With insufficient means and indifferent management, it was soon found that the road could not be made to pay expenses. The Pennsylva-

nia railroad company then procured a lease of the Erie road for ninety-nine years, agreeing to pay thirty per cent of its earnings to the owners. The road was poorly constructed, and the necessity of repairs has added greatly to the expenses of the company in operating it. For this reason, and from the legitimate effect of its former management, the road has not yet been made to pay expenses, but there is no doubt that it will soon become profitable. The loss to the company for the past year was only \$83,174.65, being \$271,177.88 *less* than in 1867. It is quite probable that the next report will show a balance of credit to the road.

Dividends amounting to thirteen per cent were declared in May and November. The annual payment to the State for the purchase of her works was \$460,000. All the branch lines operated by the company, except one, show balances in their favor equal to the interest upon the amounts charged against them. Besides those under its exclusive control, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company owns a majority of shares in the following roads: Cumberland Valley, Northern Central and its leased lines, and Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis. These roads are all in a prosperous condition, their earnings for the past year being, in the aggregate, \$7,055,872.06. Of the Northern Central Railway we are informed that

"Its control by this company was the result of an unsuccessful effort upon the part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to shut up this avenue as a competitor with its own railway for transportation between Baltimore and the west." (P. 12.)

In New-York great interest has been excited by the so-called railroad wars. Little of this sort has been heard of the Pennsylvania railroads, though the conflict of the Pennsylvania and Atlantic and Great Western roads, resulting satisfactorily to the former a few years ago, made some stir. We have here a statement of another contest, of the correctness of which those who know can judge:

"In the month of October last an attempt was made by the Erie and New-York Central Railroad Companies to break up the through traffic arrangements of this company, by large reductions upon their freight charges. This movement was promptly met by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company with still greater reductions from time to time, which resulted in a large increase of its tonnage. These low charges were continued until a restoration of former rates was desired by those companies, after incurring a heavy loss in their revenues, while the effort increased the prestige of this company by bringing its shorter lines and better facilities more prominently into public notice." (Pp. 15-16.)

The subject of a difference of gauge in eastern and western lines is discussed. The gauge of the Pennsylvania road has been changed from four feet eight and a half to four feet nine inches, while the gauge of the Ohio connecting roads has been reduced to four feet nine and a half inches, thus leaving a difference of only half an inch, "which it is presumed that time will reduce to the uniform gauge of four feet nine inches." (P. 18.)

As already intimated, the management of this road compares very favorably with that of the best in the United States, and its president, though he has no ambition for notoriety, may be regarded as among the foremost of our railway kings.

Annual Report for the year ending October 31, 1868, of the Board of Metropolitan Police of the Metropolitan Police District of the State of New-York. Pamphlet, pp. 113. New-York.

THE means for the suppression of crime in our large cities is a matter of great interest and importance to every citizen. The city of New-York has a varied record in this respect, the difficulties arising from the peculiarly heterogeneous nature of its population seeming at times insuperable. We have hopes that, as public interest is impelled to activity by the increase of crime, the arrangements for the protection of our citizens will continue to improve, and that we may in time boast of a fairer criminal record than we can at present show. Could our police arrangements be disconnected from partisan politics, this result would be sooner accomplished. As the control of the State Legislature has generally of late years been in the hands of one party and the city government in those of another, a conflict of views and systems resulting from party prejudice and animosity has inevitably arisen.

The Board of Metropolitan Police are charged with most important duties. How they discharge those duties we propose, from time to time, to examine and discuss for the benefit of our readers. Having no partisan interests in the matter, we shall, as in all other cases, praise or censure individuals or systems as seems to us just, regardless of parties.

The report before us gives an account of what was done during the year in the way of improvements in station-house and prison accommodations. The affairs of the House of Detention of witnesses are next discussed. Upon this point we entirely approve the comments and recommendations of the board. Persons entirely guiltless of any crime, who are not even suspected of violation of the laws, are needed as witnesses in criminal cases. Unable to find the bail required by law for their appearance at court, they are imprisoned in order that their testimony may be had when required. From this report we learn that the number of persons so confined during the year was 264, of whom 71 were females. The total period for which these witnesses were confined was equal to ten years six months and eighteen days of one person.

Within the last six years, the number of persons thus detained in New-York and Brooklyn was 1716, the aggregate time being equal to 25,841 days, or seven years nine months and twenty-one days of one person. This, it will be seen, entails enormous expense upon the city, as well as shameful injustice upon individuals. So far from the ends of justice being subserved by it, the effect is to prevent persons from giving information that might lead to their detention in a manner becoming only criminals. Well may the board remark on this head, that, "Such oppressive measures ought not to be tolerated in a free and Christian country, if there is any remedy to be found within the scope of legislative authority, consistent with an effective enforcement of criminal laws." (P. 8.)

But while approving the recommendations of the board to the legislature in this respect, we must condemn publication of the names of the witnesses so detained and of the period of detention of each. If it is unjust for the law thus to imprison these innocent parties, it is surely indecorous to display

their names before the public. This notoriety must be exceedingly offensive to many of them, and is not at all necessary. The occupations of these victims of an unjust law are given, and we observe that they include an actress, a doctor, two engineers, two musicians, and several clerks, merchants, scholars, etc. We pass over the detailed reports of the board of surgeons, fire marshal, property clerk, etc., which though sufficiently interesting, present no points requiring special comment.

The report of the treasurer is the most interesting and important part of the document. Its arrangement is lucid, and its statements thorough. The total receipts for the year were \$3,427,067.90; of disbursements \$2,691,492.62. This is what it costs to keep up the police force of this city. The details of this report are worthy of some notice. Among the items of disbursement from the metropolitan fund were, for lost children, \$1860.55; for election expenses \$93,300.68; advertising, printing etc., \$3640.09. The total amount received from this source was \$390,850; the amount which it cost to detain witnesses in criminal cases was \$8494.51.

The account of the trustees of the police life insurance fund is interesting: the capital of this fund at the date of the present report amounted to \$145,-788.35. We are informed that there are forty-four widows, twenty-seven retired members of the force, and three orphans, beneficiaries of the fund.

The amount of license fees and penalties for the year was \$23,818.41. We have not space to call attention to all the items of interest. From our opportunities for forming a judgment we conclude that if every member of the board discharged his duties in so able and upright a manner as Mr. Brennan, there would be no reason to complain of its work.

The report of the chief clerk shows that the total of the police force for the year was 2159, not an extravagant number we should judge for the work of maintaining order in this city. The total number of arrests was 78,451, of whom 21,667 were females. Of offences, the most common were disorderly conduct, 16,868; intoxication, 25,097, 7435 of the latter being females; assault and battery, 6819. The report furnishes evidence of the beneficial influence of marriage upon society, as of those arrested, 45,545 were single, and 32,906 were married. The occupations of these malefactors is a topic of interest. There were ninety-nine artists, sixty-six actors, two hundred and fifty-nine brokers, twelve clergymen, twenty-nine editors, one hundred and fifty-four lawyers, and three hundred and thirty-five who called themselves scholars. These, we suspect, were "bad scholars!"

We would gladly give further details exhibiting the workings of our police system and the interesting facts it reveals, but want of space forbids. All citizens, especially those ambitious to become legislators or office-holders, should carefully study these reports, in order that they may be able to form intelligent opinions upon our social condition and the means adopted, or that should be adopted, for the suppression of crime.

APPENDIX.

Annual Statements of numerous Insurance Companies, and other documents. New-York, Hartford, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. 1869.

We have all varieties of "statements" in the pile now before us. Some, indeed, are as honest and faithful as ever were made under any circumstances, or by any class of business men, but the large majority belong to the fabulous genus. At least nine out of every ten "lack confirmation;" for our own part, we confess that these remind us of nothing more than the oaths of approvers, which as every body knows, have no force or value without being corroborated by the testimony of unsuspected persons.

The whole collection is highly suggestive, however. Regarding those neatly printed documents in their representative character, they become much more instructive than they seemed at first sight; nay, on a little reflection we have to admit that after all, they are not so much unlike the books, good, bad, and indifferent, which it is our duty or our destiny to review or notice from time to time. The good books published at the present day are very few; for one good one, at least nine of the bad and indifferent are issued; indeed, the different kinds bear about the same proportion to each other which those of the insurance companies do. Nor does the resemblance end here. A good book needs no extraordinary efforts to recommend it; all that is necessary, in general, is to announce it, mention the titles of some of the chapters, etc. There is no need to repeat its title fifty times, or even twice, in the same column or page; and there is as little need to declare it, any number of times, superior to all other works ever issued.

But if it is an indifferent or worthless production, then, in proportion as it is one or the other, it becomes necessary to proclaim in all the newspapers, especially in those of the sensational and *quasi* religious type that nothing like it had ever been seen before. The oftener this superiority is affirmed within the same space, and the larger the capitals used in affirming it, the better. If the thing is so worthless, and stupid withal, that none having common sense, not to mention taste, would purchase it, then it may become necessary to devote from five to twenty columns to a catalogue of its surpassing qualities. But this is not sufficient. It must be proclaimed in the same sensational style that several editions are sold in one week, nay, sometimes in one day; or what amounts to nearly the same, it must be announced before half an edition is ordered or called for that ten, fifteen, or even twenty editions each including thousands, have been sold, and that still the demand is on the increase, the public avidity remains unsatisfied!

Now let our readers look about, or exercise their memory a little and judge for themselves whether we exaggerate on one side or the other; and if they extend their researches somewhat, they will find that there is some reason for the similarity between the books and the insurance companies possessing the same characteristics respectively. They will see that what-

ever our publishers were in the past, they never issued so few books worth reading as they do now.

But how could it be otherwise, since they too have been seized with the insurance mania? Even our friend Harper—the head of all the Harpers—he who used to publish such excellent books formerly, must needs be an insurance director. If he had given the benefit of his insurance talents to a good company, it were less matter; as it is, we fear he will never derive any great amount either of credit or profit from the insurance department of his business. In our humble opinion, it is much more useful, honorable, aye and profitable, in the long run, to issue good books than policies of a doubtful character; although, far be it from us to say that genuine policies—such as mean what they say, and will perform what they promise—such as we shall indicate before we close—are as good as the best books, since they afford the means of procuring the best. But how many of this class are "Guardian" policies? How many "Guardian" policies would be worth the smallest volume of Coleridge, Humboldt, Hallam, Hume, Macaulay, or any of the other standard works with which Mr. Harper used to favor us only a few brief years ago, before the insurance mania assumed the epidemic type?

We are neither so sorry nor so much surprised that Mr. Appleton has turned insurer. Had he made that disposition of himself twenty years ago, the world might have been as well off to-day. Yet we felt some concern for the New-York Life, when we heard that Mr. Appleton had become one of its directors, for this was once a very decent company. We never thought very highly of the Appletonian system of publishing; and we fear that not many authors, English, French, or German, regard it in a different light. If it be a favorite with any American authors worthy of the name, their number must be very few; and still fewer, we suspect, would have much faith in policies issued on the same plan.

Most cheerfully do we admit that Mr. Appleton has published some good books; indeed, we have never known the gentleman to reject a book on account of its being good, provided he thought it would pay to print and bind it, without saying as much as "by your leave," to the author. But what is the percentage paid to American authors whose productions cannot be appropriated in this way? Suppose it is ten or fifteen per cent; then apply the same rule to life insurance policies, and see how it will work; that is, place the policy-holder in the position of the author. If the enterprising publisher makes \$10,000 by a book, and gives \$1000 to the author, there is a saving of \$9000. If the same publisher will so manage, that he has to pay nothing at all for ten other books, each of which brings him an equal amount, if not more, it is evident that he can put on great airs. He can build fine houses, and do many other things of which the authors, whose labors produced the money, ought to be very proud! Still he thinks he does not make the money fast enough, and therefore he becomes an insurer. The self-sacrificing and philanthropic officers of the New York Life being consulted on the subject, give him a few hints, for they too are great friends of literature when they think it will pay—that is, when it is

sufficiently eulogistic of themselves, and sufficiently depreciatory of all their rivals. Be this as it may, the publisher learns that no humbler or plainer house than a palace of white marble, the value of which is estimated in millions, will serve as an office for the company.* This sets him to think; he asks what percentage do the benevolent "New-York" insurers pay. He is answered with a significant smile, or sardonic laugh, which the book man fully understands. Then he thinks how delighted the policy-holders must feel at the idea of having their money taken care of in such a fine place!

Another publisher hears of the same wonderful fortune-making process. Even our canny Scotch friend, Ivison, concludes that the insurance business is the best, after all. He too must be a director; whether it be that an old company would not have him, or that he would not have the old company, he joins one of the new lights, which has not only all the modern improvements, but many improvements and "features" never heard of before by ancients or moderns! Scarcely two days elapse from the time we find Mr. Ivison gazetted as an insurer, when we receive a "special circular," in which it is announced in large, leaded type, that "the teacher, the student, etc., will hail with delight this new and valuable addition to a series already *without an equal*," etc., etc. We have the curiosity to examine "the new and valuable addition," and we find that it consists of two old books welded into one!

As for Barnes, the "National Geography" man, it seems he has been in the insurance business for years. This, indeed, we might have known, for time there was when he too issued good books. We had no idea of the reason of the falling off, until we learned recently that he has been a director for some time—one of the principal advisers of President Charles J. Martin, author of the celebrated letter to the Jews, relative to their alleged house-burning propensities. This accounted to us at once for the issue of such school-books as the History of Liberia, in which negroes are represented as model legislators, model college professors, etc., etc., and accordingly we felt sorry for having blamed Mr. Barnes perhaps a little too harshly for issuing those performances. Now, however, we withdraw all censure; and only wonder that recent books are not still worse than they are. Should the insurance mania only continue for a limited time, like the cholera, or the cattle-disease, we do not doubt that Mr. Barnes would again be the respectable, discriminating publisher, which he certainly was some years ago. But if he must be insurer and publisher together, why not apply to some such company as the Knickerbocker Life, or its rival across the way, the Equitable Life? His intercourse with the managers of either of these institutions would rather improve his taste and discrimination than injure either. They may have an occasional tilt with each other, but neither ever forgets

* Perhaps the following little extract from Table XIII. in Barnes's last Report may throw some light on the marble business:

| | Years. | Losses Resisted. |
|-------------------|--------|------------------|
| New-York Life.... | 1865 | \$5,000 |
| | 1866 | 18,000 |
| | 1867 | 30,000 |

what he owes to the public, especially to that part of it which confides in his integrity.

Whether our friend Scribner has yet secured a position as insurance director, we cannot say; but there are several companies to which we would recommend him as one whose word may be relied upon in all cases of doubtful assets. We are not quite decided whether it is he or Peterson, of Philadelphia, we should recommend to Batterson, of the Traveller's Life and Accident; but we are convinced that that enterprising gentleman would find either a valuable auxiliary as a member of the "board," especially when a policy became due which it was inconvenient or "injudicious" to pay.

There is no use in denying the fact that our printers also have lately evinced a strong tendency in the direction of insurance. They, too, want to make fortunes; and who can blame them? although it may be very unpleasant to be delayed with our publications when we are in a hurry. It is true that we know but one professional printer who has yet devoted any part of his time to insurance, further than that required to print insurance documents for such as employ him to do so. But we are bound to admit that there are few shrewder or better directors than this one, and that there is no company of its age more successful or more reliable than that to whose board he belongs. In proof of this, we refer to the Continental Life. The danger is that, on account of his success, there will be a rush of printers to the insurance business, and, worse still, that they will rush into the wrong offices—into such, for instance, as those of the Standard Life, the Excelsior Life, the North-American Life, the Widows' and Orphans Benefit Life, etc., etc. This would be the worst "strike" they made yet—the worst for themselves and their families, as well as for the public, which would be deprived of their instructive and valuable services.

And yet we doubt whether they would fare much better by rushing into some of the large *imposing* concerns, which boast that they have so many millions of assets, etc.; for, as we have shown on former occasions, there are some of these that have one scale of dividends for the poor, and another scale for the rich. The latter are sometimes treated very "liberally," especially if they are persons supposed to have influence among that numerous class who never think. Need we say that this sort of liberality pays? for it is the poor and thoughtless class who build those fine palaces; it is they who pay for the white marble; it is they who pay those enormous salaries and percentages; it is they who get least back; it is they whose widows have to employ lawyers to recover what is due to them, and have to compromise at last for a mere trifle, or lose costs and all!

In this, as in nearly all other cases, there are exceptions, but in nine out of ten it is the best companies that make least display. Thus, for example, there is no more sterling company anywhere than the Knickerbocker Life; it is our sincere opinion that it may be regarded as a model in its mode of dealing with its policy-holders; yet its office, although comfortable and spacious, is one of the plainest in the city. The office of the Security Life is equally modest, and the company is equally excellent. Thus two of our most reliable and really benevolent companies have the least showy and least expensive offices.

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In other cities we find the same relationship between modesty and genuine, substantial worth. None, for instance, make less show in this way, than the Phoenix Mutual Life, of Hartford; but where is there a more prosperous company of its age, or a company which, in proportion to the claims upon it, has done more for the widow and the orphan? Its office is no palace; but there is more and better work done in it than in some of those New-York offices, whose pompous owners will be content with nothing less showy than an immense pile of white marble.

Again, nowhere is there a nobler corporation of its kind, or indeed of any kind, than the New-England Mutual Life. Its home office in Boston is, indeed, abundantly spacious, comfortable, and tasteful; but there is nothing flashy about it. Even the little Berkshire Life, of Pittsfield, makes far more display, whereas it is no exaggeration to say that the New-England Mutual combines more excellent qualities than all the other life companies of Massachusetts put together.

These facts we will illustrate presently; but in the mean time we must not forget the exceptions. Thus, it is true that the Equitable Life is building a fine structure, but it is not of white marble, but of granite, a much more durable though less showy stone; and we cheerfully add that it is proportionately more characteristic of the company. The Manhattan Life does business in a white marble edifice, but in a retiring and unobtrusive way. Like a well-bred guest, who does not doubt his rank, the Manhattan takes a back-seat, and allows the *parvenus* to take the front. We would therefore say to our friends the printers, in the words of one for whom, doubtless, they have high respect,* before they make any further rush for insurance, in imitation of our misguided and degenerate booksellers,

Nimium ne crede colori :
Alba ligustra eadunt, vaccinia nigra liguntur.

Now, what sort of people wear the heaviest guard-chains, the largest rings, the most flashy scarfs and vests? Are they not the professional gamblers, and those who in England are called the "swell-mob"? In every country they are the class who doubt themselves, and who are to be doubted by others; but in no country are they the class who inspire confidence among sensible people, who do not want to throw away their money.

It will be found equally true upon investigation that it is those who promise most that do least. Who is not familiar with the great dividend stories of some of our "confidence" companies, old as well as young? According to these, the parties easily made to part with their money will get back in dividends, or some kindred form, more than they paid in premiums. We are aware that to those unacquainted with the desperate efforts made at the present day to sell "policies," this must seem gross exaggeration or burlesque, yet it is the simple truth. Thus, for example, what does the following paragraph, extracted from a long series of the same sort, mean?

* Virgil.

"Savings Banks pay interest *only*. This Company will pay *many dollars* for every one paid to it on a Life Insurance Policy."

This sort of pretension is by no means peculiar to the "Standard" Life of New-York, from whose advertisement we take it. We could mention forty other companies that are equally absurd and deceptions. Need we say that companies of established reputation—companies that are really liberal as well as honest—do not make any such promises? On the contrary, they tell the public frankly that they must not expect what it is impossible to give. In illustration of this, we quote the following extract from the twenty-fifth Annual Report of the New-England Mutual Life Insurance Company :

"It is not out of place, at this time, to reiterate what has been often alluded to in previous reports concerning the *delusive anticipation* of large returns of surplus, or, as they are frequently miscalled, *profits or dividends*. A Mutual Life Insurance Company returns to its members the *over-payments* that have been made. Every member is charged with the risk that he has run, and his proportion of the expense of conducting the business. He is credited with his share of the gain upon mortality and percentage of expense, and the excess of interest, over four per cent, which his funds, deducting the cost of insurance, have realized; and this is all he can equitably claim. Our members will therefore see that *no anticipations of enormous dividends, large profits, etc., can, by the very nature of things, be realized*. To urge insurance upon any member of the community, by means of *promises* which can never be fulfilled, is a *gross fraud*, and the directors of this company request that if any agent or solicitor, acting on their behalf, is found *guilty* of such a dereliction of duty, the fact may be brought to their notice that his services may be dispensed with. If companies would combine to frown down this growing evil, less forfeitures would ensue, and the business done through solicitors would become *more reputable, in some respects, than it now is.*"

Most of the italics are in the original; but every sentence in the passage is characteristic of the company in whose report it occurs; the whole does honor even to the New-England Mutual. We will now give another extract which will show that its integrity is appreciated:

"It will be seen by the annexed financial statement that the assets of the company amount to nearly seven millions of dollars; that *more than one half a million of dollars has been paid in claims upon policies*; that the net receipts for premium and interest have amounted to \$2,817,015.74; and that there remains a *surplus to be distributed* of \$786,197.86, after reserving \$6,192,008.32 as the cost of reinsurance.

"During the year the company has issued 5691 policies, insuring the amount of \$16,976,086, and increased its list of members more than four thousand.

"The number of policies subsisting is about 21,000, upon which there is a present liability of \$64,258,900.40, against \$51,367,184.05, upon 16,526 policies, at the close of the previous year.

"The business of the company during the past year, in the number of policies issued and the amount paid for losses, has been greater than that of the first thirteen years."

It is companies which do such work as this, after having again and again cautioned the public against misunderstanding its promises, that inspire confidence in insurance. Fortunately for those capable of reflecting and discriminating, there is enough of such, although we repeat without fear of contradiction that companies of the opposite class bear about the same proportion to them that nineteen does to one. In the other companies having their home offices in Massachusetts there is nothing very remarkable in one way or the other. None of them we believe are particularly bad; but it is more certain that none are particularly good, which affords a new illustra-

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tion of the fact that while wise laws judiciously administered may prevent men from committing crime, no laws can render them really virtuous ; and except underwriters are virtuous, it is certain that they will never distinguish themselves by the good they do.

Whether it be that the laws are defective in Connecticut, or that the atmosphere of some localities exercises a peculiar influence on the morals of the inhabitants, certain it is that it has underwriters who are great in evil, as well as those that are great in good ; and if the former class do not predominate, as they do in New-York and Philadelphia, they are at least much more numerous than the latter. Hartford alone furnishes abundant illustrations of this. In that little city there are all varieties of insurers, from the noblest and most unswerving to the meanest and most slippery. There is nothing animate or inanimate which may not be insured there for a consideration ; at least this was the case until very lately; but we believe there are no offices at present for the insurance of horses, cows, donkeys, goats, etc.; it having been found that the owners of those animals have more common sense, but less faith, than the generality of mankind.

The two noisiest companies in Hartford, or perhaps anywhere else, are the Connecticut Mutual, and the Travellers' Life and Accident, and this is by no means the only quality which the twain possess in common. The character of each and the extent to which it deserves public confidence are pretty fully known to our readers ; yet there is no reason why we should not call attention to "new features." The features indicated by two documents which have recently fallen into our hands may not be entirely new ; but they strike us as somewhat novel if not strange. The documents alluded to are, first, a policy form purporting to be that of the Connecticut Mutual ; we say "purporting" because, although it has all external appearances of genuineness, parts of it read so much like burlesque, that we wondered, and indeed we wonder still, that any sensible person would accept such a pledge for his money ; and, second, a printed circular letter marked, "For Agents and Solicitors only." For our own part, we cannot but regard the policy form as a slippery document ; in order that those of our readers who have not already seen it may be able to judge for themselves whether we are right or wrong we subjoin the following passage :

"Provided always, and it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this policy, and the same is accepted by the assured upon these expressed conditions ; that in case the said person whose life is hereby insured shall pass beyond the settled limits or the protection of the government of the United States, (excepting into the settled limits of the Dominion of Canada,) or shall, between the 15th day of June and the first day of November, visit those parts of the United States situated south of the southern lines of North-Carolina and Tennessee ; or shall enter upon a voyage upon the high seas ; or shall be personally engaged in blasting, mining, sub-marine operations, or the manufacture or transportation of highly inflammable or explosive substances ; or engaged as an engineer or fireman in charge of a steam engine, or as engineer, fireman, or brakeman on a railroad, or as a mariner, officer, or employee in any capacity, on sea service on any sea, sound, inlet, river or lake ; or enter into naval or military service whatever, either voluntary or otherwise ; (excepting in the militia when not in active service;) without the consent of this company, in each and either of the foregoing cases, previously given in writing ; or if he shall die by his own hand, while sane or insane, feloniously or otherwise ; or in consequence of a duel, or by the hands of

Justice, or the violation of any law of the United States, or of any government where he may be; or if he shall aid or abet any insurrection against the government of this State or of the United States, or perform any labor or service, civil or military, in aid of such insurrection; then and in every such case this policy shall be null and void and of no effect."

We confess that a document containing so many provisos as this, not to mention the provisos in regard to health, age, etc., would not inspire us with much confidence as to the comfort which our widow might derive from that source. But the circular, intended "for agents and solicitors only," is a still more curious document. We should like to present our readers several extracts from this, but can only make room for one. This, it will be seen, is highly suggestive :

"Our experience has demonstrated that residents in this country of foreign birth, and especially those emigrating in middle life, are not *equally good risks as native-born citizens*, and of these that *the Irish are decidedly the poorest, and the Germans the next*. It is believed that of the above two classes who now embrace life insurance, the number is so large as to materially disturb the average rate of mortality expected from selected lives, and to materially increase the cost of insurance. We therefore request that agents will not make any special efforts to solicit applications from among those classes, and that they will use *discretion and care in selecting cases from those classes*, to be sent to this office."

The real secret of these objections to foreigners is, that Patrick and Franz—especially the former—not having been used to much money at home, are not easily made to part with it when they earn it hard in this country. If they do part with it, they are apt to have a close eye on those who take it. Although Patrick may not be "larned," he is somewhat prone to be suspicious of those who want his spared dollars in exchange for fine promises, especially if he hears that they have any thing to do with pills or wooden nutmegs; we are sorry to hear that he has sometimes used his *shelala* in cases of this kind. It is plain enough that a person who is so summary as this in his dealings with insurers is not a "good risk," but rather a "disturbing element" in the business. Franz is not so "poor" a risk as Pat, still it is not safe for a solicitor or agent, or even a president, to calculate too much on his forbearance, if he gets it into his head that his money is not in safe hands. Upon the other hand, "native-born citizens" are, in general, exceedingly mild and gentle under the fleecing operation; no other citizens of any country will bear more imposition without having recourse to a cudgel, or any other "disturbing" instrument. If we are wrong in our explanation of the above extract, perhaps some of our insurance readers will set us right.

The Connecticut Mutual may be worthy of all the praise it bestows on itself, as well as of all the disinterested recommendations which it inserts in its advertisements in proof of its honesty; but we confess there are several Hartford companies, whose policy we should greatly prefer to that signed "Guy R. Phelps, President," even though the latter should contain no provisos. Most decidedly we would prefer, for example, the policy signed "E. Fessenden," and countersigned "J. F. Burns." Armed with the document of the latter we should feel sure of the cash, whereas in the other case we could not help having some misgivings. We think we need hardly say that we are not peculiar in this feeling. Those who know the Phoenix

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Mutual best speak of it in the highest terms. As a specimen of the opinions entertained of it by the neighbors of its officers—by those who have the best opportunities of judging of its merits, as compared to other companies, we extract the following passage from a recent number of the *Hartford Courant*, feeling satisfied that it does not in the least exaggerate the worth of the *Phoenix*:

"The *Phoenix* has been in business a good number of years, and it has worked its way into public favor and to prosperity by good management. Its receipts last year were within a fraction of two millions of dollars, \$1,743,173.35 being from premiums on its policies old and new; and its interest receipts, on solid investments, are now running up to near \$200,000 annually. Its assets are over three and a half millions of dollars, and during the last year it issued over eight thousand policies. The claims against it, by deaths, *always promptly settled*, amounted last year to \$166,950—that is, the claims that were actually paid in cash. Its income in 1866 was \$54,007; in 1868 it was \$1,930,838, showing an increase of 128 per cent, a remarkable success. But what is more gratifying still, its assets have increased, as compared with 1866, one hundred and fifty-one per cent.

"This is the test not only of prosperity, but of the soundness of the institution. Indeed, we believe it may be safely said of this company that its increase of assets, compared with the amount insured, has been *greater the past year than that of any other company in this country.*"

The statement of the Charter Oak Life, for the past year has not yet been issued, but none doubt that it will exhibit increased prosperity and progress. We mention for the benefit of other companies that its proud motto for several years has been, "Losses paid and not a case litigated." We know our friends of the Connecticut Mutual, New-York Life, and New-Jersey Mutual Benefit will thank us for reminding them that, after all, this sort of non-resistance is something to boast of.

For a New-Jersey company the Mutual Benefit of Newark used to be remarkably well managed; but it seems that the directors have recently taken the more important part of the management into their own hands. This will probably account for the disagreeable number of lawsuits in which the company has been engaged lately. Even the State taxes it has resisted, refusing to pay any more than the directors thought was sufficient. Somehow or other the courts have differed with the directors, and rendered an adverse decision. The latter gentlemen, not liking the notion of paying about \$50,000 if they could avoid it, have, it seems, carried the case to the Court of Errors. This little affair reminds us that Mr. Barnes's last Annual Report contains, under the head of "losses resisted" and opposite the name of the New-Jersey company, some pretty large items, as follows:

| | Years. | Losses resisted. |
|---------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Mutual Benefit..... | 1865..... | \$12,500 00 |
| | 1866..... | 8,600 00 |
| | 1867..... | 22,600 00 |

All this may be right, but we confess we prefer the record of some other companies; of the Security Life of New-York, for instance. In the same table the Security stands without any "loss resisted" during the same period as follows:

| | Years. | Losses resisted. |
|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Security Life..... | 1865..... | |
| | 1866..... | |
| | 1867..... | |

Not wishing to seem invidious, even for the public good, we will not extend the parallel, but show that lawsuits and resistance to claims, or either, are by no means necessary to promote the prosperity and success of a life insurance company. If the Security has ever had litigation of any kind, or if its directors have sought to make a cipher of their president or vice-president, for any purpose whatever, the fact has, we believe, never transpired. That both directors and officers have been much more sensibly and profitably engaged, will be sufficiently evident from the progress of the company, as shown by the following table:

| Years. | No. of Policies issued each year. | Gross Receipts. | Amount Insured by New Policies. | Total Gross Assets. | Increase over previous year in Gross Assets. |
|--------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| 1862 | 211 | \$23,423 | \$489,000 | \$122,857 | \$12,857 |
| 1863 | 888 | 100,530 | 1,929,550 | 160,093 | 57,255 |
| 1864 | 1,403 | 149,411 | 2,819,743 | 249,831 | 89,739 |
| 1865 | 2,134 | 323,827 | 4,841,280 | 425,017 | 175,196 |
| 1866 | 3,325 | 601,651 | 7,526,509 | 753,398 | 328,371 |
| 1867 | 4,034 | 880,000 | 9,070,805 | 1,286,390 | 532,952 |
| 1868 | 4,386 | 1,055,342 | 11,564,389 | 1,854,550 | 568,180 |

Who will deny that a company that can exhibit such results as these could build a marble palace, if it were as fond of display as some of its neighbors? Nay, one of our youngest and most modest companies could do so. The National Life of New-York dates only since 1863; it commenced business without any flourish of trumpets, and with only a small capital. It has engaged in no quarrels; it has eschewed lawsuits of all kinds. We have never heard that it contested a case; yet on the first of January last, its assets amounted to \$400,000, nearly half a million, and nearly double the amount of last year. But no company is more judiciously or more ably managed than the New-York National.

Of all our insurance companies there is not one that makes better progress than the Knickerbocker Life; nor is there one that more eminently deserves its prosperity and success. Excepting rivals, who are scarcely to blame for feeling a little jealous or envious, sometimes, this is the testimony of all who know the company. Our local readers need not be informed that no insurance institution in New-York enjoys a more enviable reputation; and we perceive that its worth is held in equal estimation in all our principal cities. As it always affords us sincere pleasure to see superior intelligence combined with integrity and urbanity succeed, we will quote a fragment or two from recent estimates made in different cities. In refuting some attacks made on the company, the Chicago *Chronicle* presents to its readers several of the well-established claims of the Knickerbocker to public consideration. Referring to one of these claims, the editor adduces the following facts and figures:

"The total of all dividends declared to policy-holders, from the organization of the company to January 1st, 1869, is \$583,000, in round numbers. The entire premium receipts of the company, during the same time, have been \$4,074,521.71. But inasmuch as, prior to January 1st, 1869, dividends were withheld until after three years from the date of the policy, the premium receipts of the years 1865, 1866, and 1867, amounting to \$2,033,553.73, must

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be deducted from this total \$4,074,521.71, in order rightly to ascertain the percentage of dividend. This subtraction leaves \$2,040,967.93. From this sum of \$2,040,967.93 there must be a further deduction of some \$800,000 of premiums, received upon stock and term policies, when we shall have remaining \$1,240,967 as the true sum entitled to dividends. The total of dividends declared upon this sum, \$583,000, is an average of nearly 50 per cent."

Turning to Philadelphia, we find a tribute still more creditable, if possible. We read in one of the journals before us an account of a banquet, provided by Mr. Paul, a German gentleman, for the purpose of complimenting his brethren of the insurance profession. As usual on such occasions, speeches were delivered, when Mr. Ditmann, another gentleman from the land of Humboldt and Leibnitz, while alluding to the German branch of American insurance, paid the following tribute to the same company :

"From what I have had occasion to observe I am justified in saying that The Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company is a great blessing to our people. From my own experience, I am happy to be able to say that many instances of losses by that company have come under my notice, and that every just and honest claim was promptly paid."

It is not alone the Germans who are creditably represented at the home office of the Knickerbocker; although our friend, Dr. Lassing, has a more thorough knowledge of insurance than any of the other Europeans, English, Irish, or Scotch, selected by Mr. Lyman for their superior intelligence and abilities. In one of the journals from which we take the above extracts, it is announced that Mr. Mattison, late general superintendent of agencies for the New-York Life, "and an energetic, faithful, and efficient worker in the cause," has transferred his services to the Knickerbocker. We cannot say we are surprised at this, since Mr. Appleton has taken so large a part of late in the direction of the former company. Perhaps we should not have referred to it, therefore, had it not reminded us that the Knickerbocker is one of the companies which it used to annoy Messrs. Beers and Banta so much a year or two ago to find commended in the same journal with the New-York Life.

Another of the companies whom those worthy gentlemen would proscribe is the modest and retiring, but always solid and faithful Manhattan Life; but a company can afford a little snobbery at its expense, which has had the following receipts during the past year.

| | |
|--|----------------|
| For premiums, extra premiums, etc..... | \$1,874,796 40 |
| For interest..... | 310,327 26 |
| For interest and rents accrued..... | 90,216 63 |
| | \$2,285,340 29 |

This, it will be admitted, is a pretty respectable income. It also appears that the company paid during the same period nearly half a million (\$481,835.00) claims by death; and that still its assets amount to over five millions and a quarter, (\$5,367,537.59.)

It is generally admitted that those who grow pompous, rude, and overbearing in proportion as they grow rich on the public money, have but very small minds, whatever may be the size or strength of their stomachs; upon the other hand, there are a class who become more and more polite and thoughtful according as they become wealthy. To the latter class belong the managers of the Equitable. Mr. Hyde is very like his rival in this respect. That gentleman and Mr. Lyman have really so many good quali-

ties in common that they should never be at war with each other; they should rather turn their combined arms against those small-headed, greedy, grasping, illiterate creatures, whose instincts are much more like those of sharks or vultures than those of honest philanthropic life insurers. We are glad, accordingly, that the rivals flourish. The Equitable has now an annual premium income of five millions and a half, (\$5,500,000,) while its cash assets amount to nearly nine millions, (\$9,000,000.)

It is true that the Mutual Life, and the Connecticut Life, *par nobile fratrum*, boast larger assets than any of the really benevolent companies we have mentioned; but that the vicious sometimes prosper awhile, is no reason why the virtuous should feel discouraged. We think it will be pretty generally admitted by those who know these companies best, that, had they only commenced business a year or two ago, it would have been very doubtful whether either could ever succeed; for the masses are vastly more intelligent and less credulous now than they were when the Mutual and the Connecticut first began to proclaim the wonderful virtues of their respective wares. Companies must be honest in order to succeed at the present day; that is, except they be *stock* jobbers that can get their finger into the United States treasury, and then persuade Congress by golden or "greenback" arguments, to grant them peculiar privileges! But even at the present rate of the increase of new companies, intelligence, integrity, and energy need have no fear but they will finally succeed. The example of the Continental Life (of New-York) fully sustains us in this view. This company is not yet quite three years in existence, and it has already accomplished the following results:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Policies issued,..... | 12,000 |
| Assets,..... | \$2,300,000 |
| Dividend declared, Jan. 30, 1860,..... | 40 per cent. |

This brief record needs no comment. We would advise companies like The Homeopathic Mutual, The Dick Parker Mutual, The First National Eclectic, The Jack Ketch Assurance and Annuity, The World Mutual, the Davy Crockett Life and Accident, The Excelsior Life, etc., to study these figures, and try to imitate the means by which they have been produced.

The Globe Mutual Life continues to advance steadily, but without making any display. Its annual statement is brief, but it is comprehensive and significant. We extract the following figures:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| To net assets, January 1, 1868, | \$961,807.04 |
| " Premium account, 1868, - - | \$1,041,085.11 |
| " Interest received and accrued, | 75,023.54 |
| | 1,119,708.65 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$2,081,515.69 |

During 1868, it paid losses by death to the amount of \$143,285.71; yet its assets have very nearly doubled during the same period, amounting now to \$1,641,907.55. The president of the Globe Mutual was formerly actuary of the New-York Life; but he was always opposed to spending the money of the policy-holders in mere display.

Batterson need not console himself with the hope that the Provident Life and Accident, of Chicago, will no longer compete with his concerns. Men

actuated by honorable motives always discard any branch of business which they cannot carry on without imposing on public credulity. Accordingly, we believe the conductors of the Provident are about to leave the accident business to Batterson.

The United States Casualty, prompted by the same creditable feeling, has got ashamed of the Batterson *modus operandi*, and has resolved itself into an exclusively life company, under the title of the Anchor Life. As Mr. Fisher, its president, is a judicious, honest underwriter, and has intelligent colleagues possessed of similar characteristics, we have no doubt that the Anchor will prove worthy of its metaphorical name. It has some attractive features, of which we will take occasion to speak in our next, having no doubt that the managers of the company mean what they say.

Among the many companies recently inaugurated, the American Tontine seems to be the only one that inspires even an ordinary amount of confidence among the thinking portion of our people. How well it merits this confidence we are not yet prepared to say from our own knowledge; but appearances are certainly in its favor. Its plan is new in this country; but in Europe it has proved both successful and popular. The points on which it differs with other life companies, we may take occasion to discuss on a future occasion; but at present we can do no more than allude to its favorable prestige.

Sometimes there is a good deal in a name, but there is very little, we fear, in that of "The Great Western Mutual Life," of New-York, which commenced business some months before its prosperous and thriving neighbor, the Continental. It seems that the brokers do not succeed very well, after all, as life insurers; the meanness of their former trade always seems to stick to them. True, all the managers of the Great Western are not brokers. Mr. Bage, the worthy president, numbers among his directors dealers in very nice things—even articles of *virtu*. We own that until we learned that Mr. Charles L. Tiffany, the well known *jewel* dealer, was a member of the board, we were somewhat at a loss to understand how it was that the Great Western people indulged so much in showy rings and breast-pins. Now the thing seems plain enough, and yet those articles have rather a suspicious, *pasty* look about them—*inferior paste* at that; for there are some of the Paris articles which it is more difficult to distinguish from genuine diamonds than the uninitiated would believe. Be this as it may, we beg leave to suggest an improvement—why not change the name of the Great Western to "The Artificial Diamond Mutual Assurance Company"?

In a short time every ism will have its insurance company; quite a number of isms are already represented. Homœopathy can boast two or three; but we fear it will prove an empty boast to many. The Homœopathic Life Insurance Company of New-York may, we suppose, be regarded as the exponent of its tribe. According to the learned managers of this institution the old system of doctoring killed more than it cured, whereas the new system rarely, if ever, fails to cure, etc. Every body knows by this time what the homœopathic principle, *similia similibus curantur*, means; whatever produces

desire will cure the same if its use is duly persevered in. This of course was a great discovery; but a still greater one has been made lately on the same basis. We are assured that homœopathic policies have still more wonderful virtues if possible than homœopathic pills; supposing the policy-holder should find himself swindled by his homœopathic insurer, he is to think nothing of that, but take more and more policies of the same kind, not sparing even the last dollar, and a cure is certain in the end. Let no one object that the doctor who undertakes to operate in this wonderful way is but young in the business, and may fail to fulfil his promises. The "manual" of the Homœopathic company disposes of all such objections in a very simple manner; we quote a brief passage:

"If an old company regularly divides and pays out or agrees to pay its profits, then it has nothing left but its capital and cash enough to meet its liabilities, *great or small*. It is therefore not so strong as a new company, which has liabilities comparatively so small that its capital, added to its reserve fund, renders the absolute security far greater in proportion." (p. 19.)

Thus the newer a company is the stronger it is; from which it follows, of course, that the older a company is the weaker it is! We readily admit that this is true in some cases. The Homœopathic Mutual is indeed weak enough to-day, but we think it quite likely that it will be still weaker this time twelve months, if it does not pass out of existence altogether in the mean time.

"The First National Eclectic Life Assurance Society" is the title of another of the numerous new brood of companies, which are to cast the old into the shade by their "peculiar features" and their benevolent, magnanimous deeds. That no one need apprehend exaggeration in its pretensions, will be sufficiently manifest from the fact that foremost among its directors are the Hon. Demas Barnes, manufacturer of patent medicines, and the Hon. Henry Ivison, manufacturer of "the celebrated American series" that have done so much to render our good people intelligent and enlightened! As the difficulty seems to be now to find appropriate names for the numerous new companies that are in process of organization, we beg leave to suggest a few which we think would be found sufficiently appropriate. One of our enterprising publishers has issued a large series of works from time to time, such as "The Life of Jack Ketch," "The Life of Dick Parker the Pirate," "The Life of Galloping Dick," etc.* It would be easy to transpose these titles so that they might read somewhat as follows: The Jack Ketch Life Insurance Company; The Dick Parker Pirate Life and Accident Insurance Company; The Galloping Mutual Benefit Life and Annuity, etc.

Just as we close our last pages we receive from the Insurance superintendent at Albany "Abstracts compiled from the annual statements of the joint-stock fire insurance companies of the state of New-York, showing their condition on the 31st day of December, 1868." We are sorry that this publication did not arrive a few days earlier, for it contains not a little that would be highly interesting to our readers. As it is, we must lay it aside for the present; but we will review it carefully and searchingly in our

* Vide Peterson's Catalogue of "Lives of Highwaymen." Philadelphia, Pa.

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next, and show that there are a large number of persons who are far too careless in regard to the resources and character of the companies in which they insure against loss and damage by fire.

The statement made by the popular and progressive Security Fire, of New-York, shows that 1868 was a prosperous year with that institution. Against gross assets of \$1,477,000 at the close of 1867, the company now shows over \$1,700,000. Better than this is the fact, which we have had authenticated to us, that the business of the first two months of the present year paid the Security a profit of more than \$100,000. It has been our pleasure always to speak well of this company, both under the *régime* of that princely man, the late Joseph Walker, and under the present intelligent and energetic management.

Thanks to the judicious management of Mr. Reese, the Hope Fire, of New-York, has done excellent business during the past year. Its aggregate amount of available assets is now \$225,779.62; its aggregate cash income during the year has been \$125,769.64. These figures of the Hope inspire more confidence than ten times their apparent value in the statistics of other companies—of the Home, for instance.

The assets of the Washington Fire are steadily increasing; at the first of January of the present year they amounted to \$764,629.85; the aggregate income for the year reached the handsome sum of \$319,461.60. During the same period nearly \$110,000 were paid for losses, about one twelfth of which belonged to preceding years. If the curious will compare these various items with the corresponding items of some of our loudly-boasting companies, the Continental Fire, for instance, they will be able to determine for themselves which is the safer company after all.

Our review of marine companies we must also postpone until June. We cannot close, however, without congratulating the policy-holders of the Mercantile Mutual on the continued prosperity of that faithful and honorable institution. No spurious "scrip" has ever emanated from this company. If General Grant has not heard of the scrip operations, perhaps Mr. Boutwell will take the customs of New-York, at least during the first year, in scrip, like that of the Sun Mutual!

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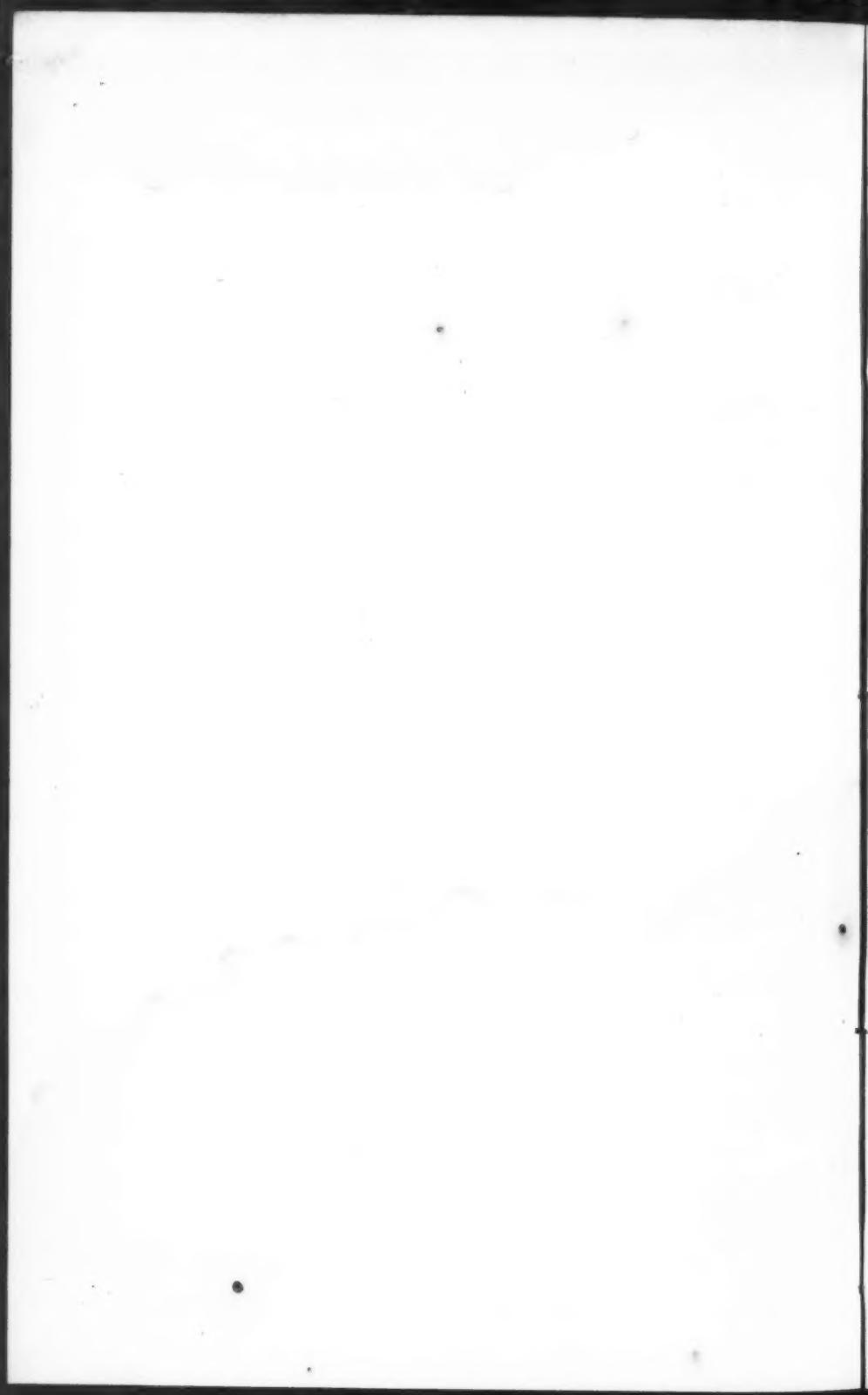
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HIRAM B. WHITE, M.D., Medical Examiner. Residence, No. 5 Green Avenue, near Fulton avenue, Brooklyn.—At office daily from 2 to 8 o'clock P.M.

Call or send for Circular.

"This corporation (The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States) can be said to mark and distinguish the commencement of the recent astounding progress in the business of Life Insurance."—WILLIAM BARNES, Superintendent of N. Y. Ins. Department, Report, 1868.

THE
EQUITABLE
LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY

OF THE UNITED STATES,

No. 92 Broadway, New-York.

WM. C. ALEXANDER,
President.

HENRY B. HYDE,
Vice-President.

GEORGE W. PHILLIPS,
Actuary.

JAMES W. ALEXANDER,
Secretary.

Cash Assets, nearly, - - - \$9,000,000
Annual Premium Income, - - \$5,500,000

SUM ASSURED (NEW BUSINESS) DURING THE YEAR
ENDING JAN. 31, 1869,

\$52,000,000.

It issues all desirable Non-Forfeiting Policies on a Single Life, from \$250 to \$25,000.

ALL PROFITS DIVIDED AMONG POLICY-HOLDERS ANNUALLY FROM THE START.

ITS FIVE MODES OF APPLYING DIVIDENDS ARE : Permanent Increase of Policy, Term Increase of Policy, Permanent Reduction of Premium, Term Reduction of Premium, Limitation of Number of Premiums to be Paid.

These concessions are made by no other Company. Its comparative rank as to new business done since its organization, among all American Companies, stand as follows :

In 1860, it was the **NINTH.**

In 1864 and 1865, the **SIXTH.**

In 1861, the **EIGHTH.**

In 1866, the **FOURTH.**

In 1862 and 1863, the **SEVENTH.** In '67, (the fiscal y'r,) the **SECOND.**

It is the most Successful Company ever organized, and, for its years, the **LARGEST MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY IN THE WORLD.**

To secure a Policy in the Equitable, apply at the office, No. 92 Broadway, New-York, or to any of the Society's Agents throughout the United States.

Agents wishing to represent the EQUITABLE are invited to make application for appointment, by letter, to the New-York Office.

JAMES CONNER'S SONS'

UNITED STATES

TYPE AND ELECTROTYPE FOUNDRY

AND

PRINTERS' WAREHOUSE,

Nos. 28, 30, and 31 Centre Street,

Corner of Reade and Duane Streets, New-York.

A Large Stock of English and German Faces, both Plain and Ornamental,
kept on hand.

All type cast at this establishment is manufactured from
the metal known as

CONNER'S UNEQUALLED

HARD TYPE METAL.

*Every article necessary for a perfect Printing
Office furnished.*

Manhattan Life Insurance Co.

OF NEW-YORK.

Offices Nos. 156 & 158 Broadway.

RECEIPTS DURING THE YEAR 1868.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| For premiums, extra premiums, etc..... | \$1,874,796 40 |
| For interest..... | 310,327 26 |
| For interest and rents accrued..... | 80,216 63 |
| | <hr/> \$2,265,340 29 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| Paid Claims by Death on Policies and Bonus, and Payment of Annuities..... | 481,635 00 |
| Paid Expenses, Salaries, Taxes, Revenue Stamps, Medical Examiners' Fees, Commissions, etc..... | 311,895 12 |
| Paid Dividends, Return Premiums, Purchased Policies, and Bonus Interest on Dividends, etc..... | 387,023 53 |
| | <hr/> \$1,180,753 65 |

ASSETS.

| | |
|--|-------------------|
| Cash in Bank and on Hand..... | 49,911 87 |
| Bonds and Mortgages..... | 1,324,055 09 |
| Loans on Policies in force..... | 2,033,030 02 |
| (The actuarial estimates of the value of the Policies which secure these notes is about \$2,500,000.) | |
| United States and New-York State Stocks..... | 712,005 00 |
| Quarterly and Semi-annual Premiums deferred, and Premiums and Interest in course of collection and transmission..... | 649,342 54 |
| Temporary Loans on Stocks and Bonds..... | 596,225 00 |
| (Market value of the Securities, \$837,773.) | |
| Interest due to date and all other property..... | 92,318 10 |
| | <hr/> \$5,867,537 |

HENRY STOKES, President.

C. Y. WEMPLE, Vice-President.
S. N. STEBBINS, Actuary.

J. L. HALSEY, Secretary.
H. Y. WEMPLE, Assist. Sec'y.

GENERAL AGENTS.

GEORGE E. FRENCH, Manchester, N. H., for Maine and New-Hampshire.
 EVERETT & PEIRCE, Boston, Massachusetts, for Eastern Massachusetts.
 O. L. SHELDON, Rochester, New-York, for Northern New-York.
 B. J. BALL, Buffalo, N. Y., for Western New-York.
 J. B. CARR, Philadelphia, Pa., for Philadelphia and Delaware.
 J. ADAIR PLEASANTS, Richmond, Va., for Virginia, North and South Carolina, etc.
 LEWIS, SPENCER & Co., Cleveland, Ohio, for Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, etc.
 GEO. N. REYNOLDS, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for Wisconsin.
 LANDERS & Co., San Francisco, for the Pacific Coast.
 W. NISBET & Co., St. Louis, for Missouri.

NEW-ENGLAND
Mutual Life Insurance Co.
OF
BOSTON.

Branch Office, 110 Broadway, New-York.

Directors in Boston.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| SEWELL TAPPAN, | HOMER BARTLETT, |
| MARSHALL P. WILDER, | FRANCIS C. LOWELL, |
| JAMES S. AMORY, | DWIGHT FOSTER, |
| CHARLES HUBBARD, | JAMES STURGIS, |
| GEORGE H. FOLGER, | BENJ. F. STEVENS. |
| BENJAMIN F. STEVENS, | JOSEPH M. GIBBENS, |
| President. | Secretary. |

Accumulation, - - - - \$7,000,000
Distribution of Surplus in 23 yrs. \$3,000,000
Losses Paid in 23 Years, \$3,200,000.

Policies of all descriptions are issued by this Company.
Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, and payable as the premiums fall due.

Printed documents pertaining to the subject, together with the report of the Company for the past year, and tables of premiums, supplied gratis, or forwarded free of expense, by addressing

SAMUEL S. STEVENS.

AGENT AND ATTORNEY FOR THE COMPANY,

No. 110 BROADWAY, cor. of Pine St.,

NEW-YORK CITY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY,

WASHINGTON, March 13, 1869.

WHEREAS, By satisfactory evidence presented to the undersigned, it has been made to appear that

"THE UNION SQUARE NATIONAL BANK"

of the City of New-York, in the City of New-York, in the County of New-York, and State of New-York, has been duly organized under and according to the requirements of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to provide a National Currency secured by a pledge of UNITED STATES BONDS, and to provide for the circulation and redemption thereof," approved June 3, 1864, and has complied with ALL the provisions of said Act required to be complied with before commencing the business of Banking under said Act:

Now, therefore, I, Hiland R. Hulberd, Comptroller of the Currency, do hereby certify that THE UNION SQUARE NATIONAL BANK, of the CITY OF NEW-YORK, in the City of New-York, in the County of New-York, and State of New-York, is authorized to commence the business of Banking under the Act aforesaid.

In testimony whereof, witness my hand and seal of office, this thirteenth day of March, 1869.

HILAND R. HULBERD,

Comptroller of the Currency.

[L. S.]

No. 1,691,

Treasury Department.

**STATEMENT
OF THE
Phœnix Mutual Life Insurance Co.
FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 1ST, 1869.**

| | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Premiums received during year..... | \$1,743,173 85 |
| Interest received during year..... | 187,660 19 |
| Total Income for the year | \$1,930,833 54 |

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Paid claims by death on 87 policies | \$166,950 66 |
| Paid commissions and salaries to agents..... | 229,570 51 |
| Paid dividends, and for policies surrendered..... | 148,570 75 |
| Paid physicians' fees, salaries, taxes, printing, postage, and all other expenses..... | 113,322 92 |
| Total Expenditures during year..... | \$658,419 84 |

ASSETS.

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Loans on real estate..... | \$764,900 00 |
| Bank stocks and railroad bonds..... | 213,150 00 |
| U. S. Registered and State bonds..... | 193,563 00 |
| Hartford City Gas Light company stock..... | 8,925 00 |
| Loans on collateral security..... | 28,442 58 |
| Bills receivable, amply secured..... | 1,908,624 00 |
| Furniture in home and branch office..... | 12,654 83 |
| Cash on hand and in banks..... | 195,624 53 |
| Accrued interest and deferred premiums..... | 86,778 71 |
| Amount in the hands of agents, and in course of transmission..... | 266,365 53 |
| Total assets of the Company..... | \$3,664,060 18 |
| Number of policies issued during the year..... | 8,229 |
| Amount insured during the year..... | \$22,523,549 00 |
| Total amount of losses paid..... | 700,625 00 |

◆ ◆ ◆

**Table of Comparisons of the Business of 1866, '67 & '68,
OF THE
PHœNIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.**

| | | | |
|---|--------------|---|----------------|
| Number of policies issued in 1866..... | 4108 | Income in 1866..... | \$848,607 71 |
| " " " 1867..... | 5811 | " 1867..... | 1,179,044 23 |
| " " " 1868..... | 8229 | " 1868..... | 1,930,833 00 |
| Increase of 1867 over 1866—41 per cent. | | Increase of 1867 over 1866—58 per cent. | |
| " " " 1868 " 1866—100 " | | " " " 1868 " 1866—123 " | |
| Amount insured in 1866..... | \$9,137,909 | Assets in 1866..... | \$1,457,314 95 |
| " " " 1867..... | 15,250,930 | " 1867..... | 2,218,344 29 |
| " " " 1868..... | 22,523,549 | " 1868..... | 3,664,060 18 |
| Increase of 1867 over 1866—67 per cent. | | Increase of 1867 over 1866—52 per cent. | |
| " " " 1868 " 1866—146 " | | " " " 1868 " 1866—151 " | |
| Received from interest in 1867..... | \$120,700 23 | | |
| Paid in losses in 1867..... | 107,700 00 | | |
| Received for interest over losses paid..... | \$13,009 23 | | |
| Received from interest in 1868..... | \$187,000 19 | | |
| Paid in losses in 1868..... | 166,950 66 | | |
| Received for interest over losses paid..... | \$20,709 53 | | |
| | | | \$38,808 76 |

E. FESSENDEN,
President.

J. F. BURNS, Secretary.

Charter Oak Life Insurance Co., HARTFORD, CONN.

Assets, April, 1868, \$4,115,932.57
Annual Income, over . 2,500,000.00

ANNUAL DIVIDENDS. DIVIDENDS GUARANTEED.

Policies Issued, over 31,000. Losses Paid, \$1,449,696.52.
Dividends Paid, over \$1,100,418.89.

Those intending to obtain Insurance, are urged to consult our Agents, and examine the merits of this Company.

JAMES C. WALKLEY, President.
NOYES S. PALMER, Vice-President.
S. H. WHITE, Secretary.

S. J. BESTOR, Assistant Secretary.
HENRY M. PALMER, Supt. of Agencies.
L. W. MEECH, Mathematician.

J. T. POMPILLY, Genl. Ag't for New York City and Brooklyn,
Office, 151 Broadway, New-York.

Office of Assistant Quartermaster General,

COR. OF HOUSTON AND GREENE STREETS,
NEW-YORK CITY, March 19, 1869.

SEALED PROPOSALS IN DUPLICATE,

with a copy of this advertisement attached to each, are invited, and will be received at this Office until 12 o'clock m. WEDNESDAY, the 31st inst., for the erection of a frame Hospital Building at Fort Adams, Newport, R. I.

Plans and specifications of the work can be seen at this Office; also, at the Office of the Acting Assistant Quartermaster at Fort Adams.

Bidders must state the time within which they will complete the work, and will be required to give sureties in the sum of one-half the amount involved for the faithful compliance with agreement.

The Government reserves the right to reject any or all proposals.

Proper blanks for proposals can be had upon application at this Office and at Fort Adams.

Payment will be made when the work is completed, or as soon thereafter as the Department is in funds for the purpose.

Proposals should be indorsed, "Proposals for Hospital at Fort Adams, R. I.," and addressed to the undersigned.

RUFUS INGALLS,
Brevet Maj. General, Asst. Q. M. General.

AETNA INSURANCE CO.,

INCORPORATED 1819. CHARTER PERPETUAL.

CASH CAPITAL, \$3,000,000.00.

Losses Paid in 50 Years, - \$24,000,000.00

ASSETS, JANUARY 1, 1869,

(At Market value.)

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Cash in hand and in Bank..... | \$592,629 57 |
| Real Estate..... | 253,319 14 |
| Mortgage Bonds..... | 894,700 00 |
| Bank Stock..... | 1,307,330 00 |
| United States, State, and City Stock, and other Public Securities..... | 2,102,953 00 |
| Total..... | \$5,150,931 71 |

LIABILITIES.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Claims not due, and unadjusted..... | \$289,553 98 |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|

L. J. HENDEE, President.

Wm. B. CLARK, Ass't Sec'y. J. GOODNOW, Sec'y.

E. J. BASSETT, GENERAL AGENT. J. C. HILLARD, { SPECIAL AGENTS.
H. L. PASCO, }

THIRTY-FIFTH DIVIDEND.

Safest and Cheapest System of Insurance.

STATEMENT OF THE

WASHINGTON INSURANCE CO.,

172 Broadway, corner of Maiden Lane.

NEW-YORK, FEB. 6th, 1869.

Cash Capital, - - - \$400,000.

ASSETS, FEB. 1st, 1869.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| U. S., State, City and other Stocks, (market value.) | \$485,559 00 |
| Bonds and Mortgages..... | 89,445 50 |
| Demand Loans..... | 95,956 00 |
| Cash..... | 49,111 54 |
| Unpaid Premiums..... | 8,069 37 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 38,988 42 |
| | \$767,129 83 |
| Liabilities..... | 16,129 83 |

Capital and Surplus..... \$751,000 00

A Dividend of (7) Seven per cent is this day declared payable on demand, in CASH, to Stockholders.

Also, an Interest Dividend of (6) Six per cent on outstanding Scrip payable First of April, in CASH.

Also, a Scrip Dividend of (45) Forty-Five per cent on the earned premiums of Policies entitled to participate in the profits for the year ending 31st January, 1869.

The Scrip will be ready for delivery on and after the First of April next.

Fifty per cent of the Scrip of 1863 will be redeemed on the First of April next, from which date interest thereon will cease.

GEO. C. SATTERLEE, President.

WM. K. LOTHROP, Secretary.

HENRY WESTON, Vice-President.

WM. A. SCOTT, Assistant Secretary.

NEW-JERSEY, CAMDEN AND AMBOY,

AND

PHILADELPHIA AND TRENTON RAILROADS.

GREAT THROUGH-LINE WITHOUT CHANGE OF CARS

TO

PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON, AND THE WEST.

FOR PHILADELPHIA:

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 7 and 10 A.M., 12.30, 1, 4, ~~5~~, 6.30 and
12 P.M.

Leave Pier No. 1, N. R., at 6.30 A.M. and 2 P.M.

FOR BALTIMORE AND WASHINGTON.

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 8.40 A.M., 12.30 and 8.30 P.M.

FOR PITTSBURGH, CHICAGO AND CINCINNATI.

Leave foot of Cortlandt Street at 8.40 A.M., 5 and 9 P.M.

WILLIAM H. GATZMER, Agent,

C. and A. R. R. and Tr. Co.

Continental Life Insurance Co.

OF
NEW-YORK.

Office, No. 26 Nassau Street, corner of Cedar.

DIRECTORS.

JAMES B. COLGATE,
of Trevor & Colgate,
Bankers.

C. M. DEPEW,
late Secretary of State.

JUSTUS LAWRENCE,
President.

G. H. SCRIBNER,
Vice-President

JOSEPH T. SANGER,
Merchant, No. 45 Liberty
Street.

M. B. WYNKOOP,
of Wynkoop & Hallen-
beck, 118 Fulton Street.

REV. H. C. FISH, D.D.,
Newark, N. J.

RICHARD W. BOGART,
of O. M. Bogart & Co.,
Bankers.

LUTHER W. FROST,
New-York.



OFFICERS.

President,

JUSTUS LAWRENCE.

Vice-President,

G. H. SCRIBNER.

Secretary,

J. P. ROGERS.

Actuary,

R. C. FROST.

Medical Examiner,

E. D. WHEELER, M.D.

Profits of the Company Annually Divided.

ONE THIRD OF THE PREMIUM MAY REMAIN
UNPAID AS A LOAN.

NO NOTES REQUIRED.

Policies Non-Forfeitable.

THIRTY DAYS' GRACE ALLOWED IN PAYMENT OF PREMIUMS.

INSURED MAY TRAVEL IN ANY PART OF THE
WORLD WITHOUT EXTRA CHARGE.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-------------|
| Policies Issued, | - - - - - | 12,600 |
| Assets, | - - - - - | \$2,300,000 |
| Dividend Declared Jan. 30, '69, | 40 per cent. | |

AMERICAN TONTINE Life and Savings Insurance Co.

149 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK.

CORNER LIBERTY STREET.

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| WILLIAM H. LUDLOW, President. | ROBERT M. STRATTON, Vice-President. |
| HENRY SNYDER, Secretary. | PARKS PACKLER, Consulting Actuary. |
| JOHN N. WHITING, Counsel. | FOSTER & THOMSON, Solicitors. |
| CHARLES McMILLAN, M.D., Medical Examiner. | |
| E. F. EMERY, General Agent. | |

DIRECTORS.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| WILLIAM H. LUDLOW..... | President, No. 149 Broadway. |
| ROBERT M. STRATTON..... | Vice-President, No. 149 Broadway. |
| SAMUEL WILLETS..... | of Willets & Co., No. 303 Pearl St. |
| CLARENCE S. BROWN..... | of Brown Bros. & Co., No. 59 Wall St. |
| JONATHAN THORNE..... | of Thorne, Watson & Co., No. 18 Ferry St. |
| JOHN N. WHITING..... | Attorney and Counsellor, No. 70 Wall St. |
| ROBERT SCHELL..... | of Robert Schell & Co., No. 21 Maiden Lane. |
| J. O. SEYMOUR | of J. Seymour & Co. Nos. 9 and 11 Nassau St. |
| WILLIAM BLOODGOOD..... | No. 28 West Twenty-Fourth St. |
| J. P. GIRAUD FOSTER..... | of Foster & Thomson, No. 69 Wall St. |
| J. WILSON STRATTON..... | Treasurer of the Novelty Iron Works, No. 111 Broadway. |
| JOSEPH M. COOPER..... | of Cooper, Fellows & Co., No. 11 Maiden Lane. |
| R. LENOX KENNEDY..... | Vice-President of the Bank of Commerce, No. 1 Nassau St. |
| MINOT C. MORGAN..... | Banker, No. 1 Nassau Street. |
| JOHN CASWELL..... | of John Caswell & Co., No. 37 Front St. |
| EDWARD HAIGHT..... | Pres't Nat'l Bank of the Commonwealth, Cor. Nassau and Pine. |
| WILLIAM M. TWEED..... | No. 237 Broadway. |
| CHARLES J. SHEPARD..... | .242 Water St. |
| DWIGHT TOWNSEND..... | No. 63 Wall St. |
| PHILIP W. ENGS..... | of P. W. Engs & Sons, No. 131 Front St. |
| JAMES M. BROWN..... | of Brown Bros. & Co., No. 59 Wall St. |
| SAMUEL L. MITCHELL..... | Merchant, No. 30 Broadway. |
| ELIJAH T. BROWN..... | of Elijah T. Brown & Co., No. 41 Spruce St. |
| ABRAM S. HEWITT..... | of Cooper, Hewitt & Co., No. 17 Burling Slip. |

IMPORTANT NEW FEATURES IN DIVIDENDS AND MODES OF INSURANCE.

All kinds of Non-Forfeiting Life and Endowment Policies issued; also, Temporary Insurance and Deferred Annuity Joint Life and Loan Redemption Policies and Annuities.

Policies Incontestable.

Liberal Modes of Payment of Premiums.

Low yet Safe Rates of Insurance.

Liberty to Travel.

Thirty Days' Grace on Renewals.

Prompt Payment of Losses.

Economy in Expenses.

Loans on Policies.

Annual Dividends on Contribution Plan.

No Extra Charge for Policy, Stamps, or Medical Examination. No Extra Charge for Army and Navy Officers. No Extra Charge for Captains and Officers of first-class Steamships and Sailing Vessels. No Extra Charge for Railroad Conductors.

CAPITAL, \$2,000,000.

THE
National Park Bank,
OF
NEW-YORK.

W. H. KITCHEN, President.

J. L. WORTH, Cashier.

Surplus, \$1,400,000.

This Bank offers its services to Banks, Bankers, Incorporations, Merchants, and individuals generally, as their Fiscal Agents in New-York for the transaction of all ordinary banking business, including the buying and selling of Government and other securities.

With one or more correspondents in every city in the Union, its facilities for the making of collections are unrivalled, and its terms extremely favorable.

Office of the Mercantile Mutual Insurance Company,

No. 35 Wall Street, NEW-YORK, January 28, 1868.

The following statement of the affairs of the Company on the 31st December, 1868, is submitted in accordance with the provisions of the charter:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Amount of Premiums not marked off December 31st, 1867 | \$361,858 56 |
| " on Policies issued from January 1st to December 31st, 1868..... | 1,151,421 90 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Total Premiums..... | \$1,513,280 46 |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Amount of Premiums marked off as earned December 31st, 1868..... | \$1,171,596 63 |
| Less Returns of Premium..... | 98,678 23 |

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Net Earned Premiums..... | \$1,072,918 40 |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|

| | |
|--|------------|
| Paid during same Period: | |
| Losses, (less salvages,) Reinsurance, and Expenses, including estimate of Losses not yet ascertained..... | 754,634 47 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Earnings for the Year..... | \$318,293 93 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Cash paid to Stockholders for Interest in July..... | \$40,426 45 |
| Cash paid to dealers as an equivalent for the Scrip Dividend of Mutual Companies..... | .116,123 88 |

The Company has the following Assets:

| | |
|--|--------------|
| United States, State, City, and other Stocks..... | \$367,800 00 |
| Loans on Stocks and other Securities..... | 47,950 09 |
| Cash on hand and in Banks..... | 90,884 14 |
| Cash in hands of Foreign Bankers..... | 46,172 29 |
| Interest and Dividends due and not collected..... | 6,743 83 |
| Security Notes, not to be used in payment of Premiums, but liable for Losses in the same manner as Capital Stock..... | 300,000 00 |
| Bills Receivable and Premiums due in Cash or Notes..... | 618,355 40 |
| Scrip, Salvages, and Sundry Claims due the Company..... | 67,011 70 |

\$1,539,422 36

The Board of Trustees have resolved to pay to the Stockholders an interest Dividend of *Three
and a half per cent.* free of Government Tax, on and after Monday, February 1st,
ELLWOOD WALTER, President. ALANSON W. HEGERMAN, 2d Vice-President.
ARCH. G. MONTGOMERY, Jr., Vice-Pres. C. J. DESPARD, Secretary.

Knickerbocker

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

ERASTUS LYMAN, President.

HOME DISTRICT,

COMPRISED THE

STATES OF NEW-YORK, NEW-JERSEY, RHODE
ISLAND AND CONNECTICUT.

H. LASSING, Sup't of Agencies,

No. 161 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK.

**SECURITY
INSURANCE COMPANY,
119 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK.**

| | JANUARY 1st, 1660. |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Capital,</i> | <i>\$1,000,000 00</i> |
| <i>Surplus,</i> | <i>706,611 91</i> |
| <i>Total Assets,</i> | <i>\$1,706,611 91</i> |
| <i>Liabilities, \$119,231 03</i> | |

A. F. HASTINGS, PRESIDENT.
W. B. BUCKHOUT, VICE-PRES'T.

FRANK W. BALLARD, Seretary.
NATHAN HARPER, Ass't. Sec'y.

Fire and Inland Insurance at Lowest Rates.

**HUGH B. JACKSON,
GROCER,**

IMPORTER AND DEALER IN

Wines, Teas, Groceries, Fruits,

SAUCES, CONDIMENTS,

TABLE AND HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES,
etc., etc., etc.,

192 Fifth Avenue, (Madison Square,) NEW-YORK.

THE
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

*A LITERARY AND CRITICAL JOURNAL OF THE FIRST CLASS;
EACH NUMBER CONTAINING OVER 200 PAGES. PUBLISHED
IN MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER, AND DECEMBER.*

ESTABLISHED 1800.

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D., Editor, Proprietor, and Founder.

The liberal patronage extended to us, even during the gloomiest period of the late rebellion, and which has been steadily increasing since the restoration of peace, affords us the most gratifying proof that, in subjecting to fearless and searching criticism whatever has a tendency to vitiate the public taste, and exposing charlatanism of all kinds, we enjoy the approbation of the educated and enlightened in all parts of the country.

Nor have we to rely on mere inference. Were we to avail ourselves of private letters emphatically commanding our course, we could fill an octavo volume with the briefest extracts from those of distinguished men and women, including authors, artists, lawyers, distinguished church dignitaries of different denominations, chancellors and professors of colleges, principals of academies, seminaries and schools. We assure all who have thus encouraged us that we will exert ourselves more and more in the future to merit their confidence and esteem.

While it affords none more pleasure to do justice to the merits of good books, we shall continue to criticise those of the opposite character. A notice in a paper, which must necessarily be brief, may be more appreciative than the character of the work noticed deserves, and yet not imply any dishonesty or bad faith on the part of the editor; but if a Quarterly does not make some attempt to separate the wheat from the chaff, but praises every book it notices, it is simply a *puffing* machine and not a *Review*. We do not make this remark with the view of depreciating any other journal, or finding fault with the manner in which it is conducted, but simply to show that, if our criticisms sometimes seem harsh, it is not because we are actuated by personal feeling against any one. In proof of this our readers will bear us testimony that under no circumstances have we ever made any attack on private character; that if we have denounced men of all grades, parties and sects, we have, in every instance, confined ourselves to their public acts; nor shall we do any thing different in the future.

All subjects of public interest will continue to be fully and fearlessly discussed in the REVIEW, but without impugning anybody's religious creed. As long as we have control of its pages we shall oppose bigotry and intolerance, whether Protestant or Catholic. Talent and culture will always be welcome to its pages, and, as much as possible, encouraged.

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It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the *National Quarterly Review*, possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste.—*Edinburgh Scotsman*.

The review of "Our Quack Doctors and their Performances" is a cleverly written and scathing *exposé* of the tricks by which medical impostors contrive to gull weak-minded and nervous people out of their money.—*New-York Herald*.

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The Review is edited and largely written by an accomplished scholar and excellent critic, Edward I. Sears, LL.D. It has maintained a character for solid excellence and air-minded criticism.—*Cincinnati Commercial*.

This publication, to our taste, continues to sustain its character as the ablest, most independent, most liberal and best adapted to popular progress among the American people, of all the Quarterlies published or re-published in the Union.—*Portland Advertiser*.

The most amusing contribution is a keen satire, entitled, "The Miraculous Element in our Periodicals," which hits off the absurd practice of bringing out all our popular monthlies some two or three weeks in advance of their date, and gravely discussing the "News of the Month," when the narratives are in type before the month has fairly commenced. This is a practice more honored in the breach than the observance.—*Philadelphia Age*.

Every one of these articles is brilliantly written. The editor, Dr. Sears, is an Irish Protestant. His *Review* proves intellect as fine as can be found, and candor as unrestricted, by prejudiced limits, as the Catholic Church itself can require. Certainly, the Catholics, particularly the Irish Catholics, of this country, should well support a publication which is thus distinguished.—*Philadelphia Catholic Universe*.

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The following list includes only those whose contributions have attracted attention.

Contributors.

| | Titles of Articles. |
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| ADLER, DR. G. J., New-York..... | William Von Humboldt as a Comparative Philologist. |
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| Year 1863.. | 211 | 22,423 | 489,000 | 122,837 | 12,837 |
| " 1863.. | 688 | 80,530 | 1,930,550 | 160,093 | 37,235 |
| " 1864.. | 1,403 | 149,411 | 2,819,743 | 249,831 | 89,739 |
| " 1865.. | 2,134 | 322,897 | 4,841,390 | 425,027 | 175,196 |
| " 1866.. | 3,325 | 603,651 | 7,536,509 | 753,398 | 228,371 |
| " 1867.. | 4,094 | 880,000 | 9,070,805 | 1,386,390 | 532,992 |
| " 1868.. | 4,386 | 1,065,242 | 11,564,389 | 1,854,570 | 563,180 |

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